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Saturday September 28 1996

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Bahrain B 100	Switzerland S 120	Japan J 200	Korea S 120	Slovenia S 120	USA USA 2.75
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Bulgaria B 100	Yemen Y 120	Malta M 120	Maldives M 120		
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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR 46,670

A Spin Doctor answers his critics

Mandelson bites back

The Week page 13



Extract from Gorbachev's Memoirs

Triumph of the plunderers

The Week page 17



Simon Hoggart on globalisation

Is China trading places?

The Week page 17

US in telephone diplomacy blitz on Israel and PLO □ UN crisis session

World plea to end carnage

Derak Brown in Jerusalem

INTENSE diplomatic efforts to persuade Benjamin Netanyahu, the prime minister of Israel, and the PLO leader Yasser Arafat to retrieve the crumbling peace deal between Israel and the Palestinians were under way last night after gunfire in the heart of Jerusalem's most holy Islamic shrine brought the death toll in three days to 68.

Seven Palestinians and three Israelis were killed in the latest round of clashes. Three of the Palestinian dead were Muslim worshippers in Jerusalem's al-Aqsa mosque, the third holiest place in all Islam. They died when troops were heavily stoned at the conclusion of Friday noon prayers, and responded with a close-range hail of rubber bullets.

More fierce clashes erupted in the Gaza Strip, where Israel used helicopter gunships to attack Palestinian rioters, and in several parts of the occupied West Bank. The apparently unstoppable outpouring of hatred and violence has deeply alarmed the international community, which sent a series of frantic pleas to both sides to stop risking the collapse of the entire Middle East peace process.

As the United Nations met in crisis session, the US State Department mounted a blitz of telephone diplomacy, with urgent calls to Mr Netanyahu and Mr Arafat to see reason. US officials said Mr Arafat was refusing to meet Mr Netanyahu until the new entrance to the archaeological tunnel near the Al-Aqsa mosque was closed. It was the tunnel's opening this week which sparked the latest rioting.

Britain made it clear that Israel could do more to defuse the crisis. Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, urged Mr Netanyahu to keep the tunnel closed and withdraw his forces from the West Bank town of Hebron. He planned to propose the measures to the UN Security Council. Although the tunnel is closed for a Jewish holiday, the Israeli government has said it will re-open.

Britain, France, and Germany launched a joint appeal for the Israeli and Palestinian leaders to meet immediately.

"This approach appears to us to be the only way to restore calm durably in the [occupied] territories and to ensure Israel's security," said John Major, Jacques Chirac and Helmut Kohl in all but identical messages.

But the reality in the Holy Land was measured yesterday not in reason, but in blood. The bloodletting at the al-Aqsa mosque was both eerily predictable and bizarre. An apparently sparse congregation — reporters and other onlookers — were not allowed to enter the mosque on Friday — had just completed the midday worship when a hail of stones flew towards heavily armed and riot-equipped Israeli forces clustered round the edges of the mosque enclosure.

Within minutes the shooting had started: long ripping volleys of what sounded like and was later confirmed by police commanders to be, rubber bullets.

They were deadly enough, fired at close range and with evident intent to stop the incipient riot dead. Reporters counted more than 30 Palestinians being carried, limp and bloodied, from the mosque, along with five police casualties. Virtually all the Palestinians wounded had been hit in the head, apparently at close range.

The stoning and firing sparked a virtual invasion of the mosque compound, as heavily protected police charged into al-Aqsa, swinging batons. Women from the congregation fled in panic, some of them in evident shock, and others chanting insults at the Israelis.

"There was massive stone throwing at our forces... there was no choice but to finish dealing with the demonstrators. The truth is we didn't make any use of live ammunition. Rubber bullets were used and maybe one tear-gas grenade," police chief Assaf Hefetz said on Israeli radio. Rubber bullets or live, the firing killed three Palestinians and paralysed the Old City, normally thronged with



Bloody footprints among worshippers' shoes at Jerusalem's al-Aqsa mosque, the third holiest place in Islam, where troops killed three Palestinians yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: KHALED ZOHARI

tourists as well as worshippers. An estimated 3,000 police, including paramilitary forces, were on duty within the 16th century walls, with another small army of 10,000 security forces deployed throughout the modern city. In the occupied West Bank, there were more vicious disturbances.

Four Palestinians and two Israeli paramilitary police were shot dead. The violence continues to spread in the territory, with fresh outbreaks reported from the hitherto tranquil town of Jericho in the Jordan Valley, and in Tulkarim in the north-west. Three Palestinians were shot dead outside Jericho, as

a stone throwing mob attacked Israeli troops. In Tulkarim, two Israeli paramilitary police and a Palestinian were killed in exchanges of fire. In Rafah, at the south end of the Gaza Strip, Israeli helicopter gunships fired on rioters and wounded at least 20 of them. The clash occurred after

Palestinians surged into an Israeli military post close to the border with Egypt, abandoned on Thursday night. Israeli radio said shots were being fired from Egyptian territory, apparently by Palestinians. Six Israeli soldiers, including a senior officer, were reported wounded. As the blood continued to flow into the dusk start of the

Jewish festival of Succot, Mr Netanyahu blamed Mr Arafat as the sole instigator of the violence.

Israeli blunder that led to bloodshed, page 5; Martin Woolcott, page 9

Firm does U-turn over race hate CD after legal threat

ONE of Britain's largest compact disc manufacturers last night bowed to intense pressure for action against the producers of a head CD seen in this country. Nimbus Manufacturing UK, based near Cardiff, has called in police after lawyers acting

for the anti-fascist magazine Searchlight warned that Benbec in Rostock by No Remorse blatantly contravened race relations legislation, and could leave the company open to prosecution. Nimbus presses CDs for mainstream acts, including Oasis. The CD contains lyrics which advocate the murder of Jews and blacks, and almost

every track carries glowing references to the Holocaust. The chorus of The Niggers Came Over, for example, contains the lyrics: "Shoot the Niggers! The Pakis too! Hang the Reds and we'll gas the Jews". The second verse begins: "If you're black you're going back, with a bit of luck in a body bag." The title track refers to the firebombing of a refugee hos-

tel in the German town of Rostock by neo-Nazis in 1962. The backlash came after the company provoked fury with its refusal to ban No Remorse and other Nazi bands, despite their extremist material. The last-minute U-turn, Howard Nash, the managing director, told the Guardian the company dealt with too much material to

check it all. "Our position is that we do not examine the material that is sent to us... Obviously this is not the sort of thing we would like to be associated with, but basically it is a cost decision." But last night he conceded that action was required. Gerry Gable, editor of Searchlight, said: "In 30 years of investigating the extreme right I have never seen or

heard such racist, threatening and insulting Nazi music... Everyone involved in the performing and distribution of this album should be prosecuted." According to legal opinion obtained by Searchlight from a leading race law barrister, Nimbus may have been guilty of a criminal offence under section 23 of the 1986 Public Order Act.

It's alright, ma, I've just been nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature



Bob Dylan: 'great artist'

Don Glaister Arts Correspondent You've been with the professors and they've all liked your looks... You've been through all of F Scott Fitzgerald's books *Bolton Of A Thin Man* — Bob Dylan

THIRTY years on, the professors have turned their attention from looks to words, with the news that Bob Dylan has been nominated for the

Nobel Prize for Literature. Although he's not known as a novelist and isn't strictly speaking a poet, Dylan still qualifies for the \$200,000 prize. Following a campaign by a group of his fans based in Norway, the one-time folk rebel who went electric, found God and then embarked on a seemingly endless world tour has been nominated by a professor at an American military institute.

The Nobel Academy, which decides the winner, limits nominators to members of the

academy, other countries' academies, professors of literature and history and former Nobel laureates. The grizzled singer-songwriter was nominated by Professor Gordon Ball, of the Virginia Military Institute. "I received a form from the academy in Norway so I wrote a letter nominating Dylan in response to the appeal from the fans in Oslo," said Mr Ball yesterday.

"He deserves to be nominated because of the worldwide influence of his songs and literature. He has

restored the oral tradition with his minstrelry. His work qualifies as both poetry and music." Christopher Ricks, leading Dylanologist and professor of English at Boston University, said: "It doesn't surprise me that he's been nominated. Getting it would be an amazing recognition. If the question is does anybody use words better than he does, then the answer in my opinion is no."

Professor Ricks noted that Dylan had written one novel, *Tarantula*, in 1970, which he

described as "the thinking man's Naked Lunch". While at Cambridge, Professor Ricks was in the forefront of the campaign to win recognition for Dylan's lyrics as literature. Professor Ball said he had seen Dylan at Newport in 1965, the first time the civil rights singer used electric instruments. "He had a pink shirt and black pants and a lot of people booted," he said. "The point is that he's continued to evolve. That's one of the signs of a great artist, as is his independence of mind."

Inside Forty long-haired vicars are to sue cigarette makers in appeal to tobacco and cellars in the first such action in the British courts

Britain 4

World News The international body supervising Bosnia's elections was last night charged with orchestrating a whitewash

Finance 11

Sport Damon Hill has wrongfooted the motor racing world with news that he plans to join the TWR Arrows team in 1997

Comment and Letters 8
TV, Radio and Weather 2
The Week
Crossword 24; Arts 18
Sport 20-24

"Entertaining ... comically inspired" Guardian

IAIN BANKS WHIT

"Banks is a phenomenon ... I suspect we have actual laws against this sort of thing" WILLIAM GIBSON

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2 CHRONICLE/NEWS

Campaign to free Vanunu after 10 years in prison

Richard Norton-Taylor

ANTI-NUCLEAR campaigners are stepping up their campaign to free Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli whistleblower who disappeared from London in the company of a female agent from Mossad, the Israeli secret service, 10 years ago on Monday.

presence in Britain before the Mossad operation. Yael Lotan, an Israeli journalist, said yesterday that Vanunu, who is held in Ashkelon prison, south of Tel Aviv, was becoming more and more passive. He is allowed to see his brothers once a week, through a grille in the presence of guards, and is allowed two hours a day exercise in a courtyard. Asked yesterday about his health, Avigdor Feldman, his lawyer, said he was "surviving".

At a recent prison hearing before a judge, Vanunu — now 40 — complained about the continuing censoring of his letters. A transcript of the hearing was published in the Israeli weekly, Kol Haiv, under the headline, "I'm not allowed to say I was kidnapped from Italy."

Vanunu's supporters are holding a conference in Israel next month chaired by Joseph Rotblat, the physicist awarded the Nobel Peace prize last year for his opposition to nuclear weapons. "Whistle-blowing should be part of the scientist's ethos," he said in his acceptance speech. "Mordechai Vanunu has suffered enough."

The British government says it cannot officially intervene in the case. "Any man or woman who reveals his country's sensitive military secrets to anyone runs the risk of harsh punishment," Lady Chalker, the Foreign Office Minister, told Parliament four years ago.

A benefit for Mr Vanunu will be held in Camden Town Hall, central London today, and Saturday. The playwright Harold Pinter will hand a petition to the Israeli embassy on Monday.



Janet Lovelace: "I left police to get away from things like this" PHOTOGRAPH CHRIS THOMSON

EX-WPC offered cash for spy role

Owen Bowcott

SPECIAL Branch officers offered a former policewoman £200 a month plus expenses for informing on friends in the direct action peace group Ploughshares. The attempt by two detectives to recruit Ms Lovelace, aged 38, is the latest example of police surveillance of anti-war and environmental campaigners.

Lancashire police described the approach as "unusual". The Ploughshares movement, which stems from Catholic pacifist actions in the United States at the time of the Vietnam War, has been a focus of police interest.

This summer four women protesters were convicted of causing £1.5 million damage to the British Aerospace Hawk jet at the company's Warton factory in Lancashire. They admitted attacking the plane with hammers in protest at the sale of Hawks to the Indonesian government, which has allegedly used them against civilians in East Timor.

to my house and said they wanted me to be a spy for them, to infiltrate the Ploughshares movement and report back on people's names. They said they were simply concerned about public order.

"They suggested I go to protests to report on what was going on, and what's happening. They wanted information so that they knew where to deploy their troops when an attack was planned."

Unhappy at being targeted, but curious about why they should be so keen to use her, she had a second meeting with the two officers at a public house in Warton.

Initially, they had not specified how much they would pay her. When they met for the second time, at a public house near the BAE site in Warton, the two men tried to persuade her that if BAE's exports were disrupted, local people would lose their jobs.

"They believed I would be more interested in money but I will not put people's lives at risk for cash. They offered me £200 a month, plus any expenses and a bonus, if I came up with good information.

The list of inducements grew longer and longer. They said they had information about the Hawk jet, and they would sort them out for you. If I got arrested they would sort that out for me."

"The £200 was for the first three months, then it might be upgraded. They also offered a mobile telephone, petrol and child-minding fees. All of it was to be paid in cash

and the taxman need never know about it. They said 'one never ever knew about it.' One of the officers gave her his pager number and asked her to adopt a codename. Because details of actions were only released half an hour in advance, the officers wanted early warnings to intercept break-ins.

Eventually, Ms Lovelace told them she was not interested. "I'm not going to do it. I just want to expose what's going on."

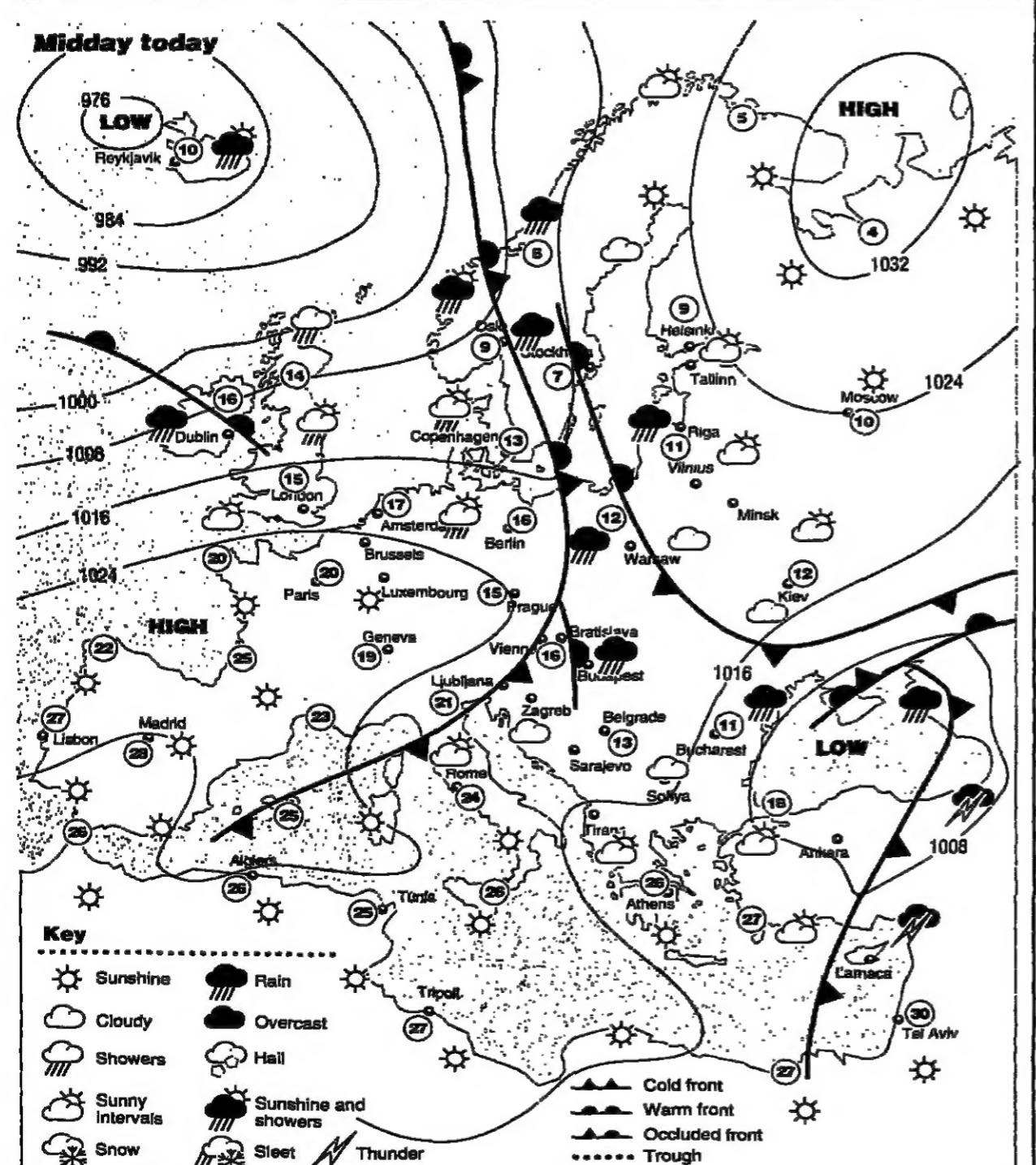
At first, British Aerospace at Warton denied knowledge of the incident. But a police spokesman said: "A Lancashire constabulary officer did speak to the woman in question. It's a part of ongoing efforts to ensure the force plays an effective role in preventing criminal offences being committed at BAE's Warton site."

"This sort of inquiry is not unusual, indeed she is one of several people who have been approached."

Angie Zeller, one of the four women acquitted of the attack on the Hawk jet, claimed a friend of hers had recently been approached. "The man said he was from MIS and asked her if she would infiltrate Ploughshares. This is all a waste of taxpayers' money. Everything we do is completely open."

Stephen Hancock, a member of the Ploughshares support network who has served six months for "disarming" an F-11 jet, said: "In the last couple of weeks I have had two phone calls from people saying they have been asked to spy on us for the police." BAE can hardly claim we are threatening jobs. They have recently paid us on an extra £70 security staff."

The weather in Europe



Forecast for the cities

Table with columns for City, Today, Tomorrow, and weather details.

Around the world

Summary of weather conditions and forecasts for various global locations including London, New York, Tokyo, and others.

Television and radio — Saturday

Programme listings for BBC 1, BBC 2, BBC Prime, BBC World, Radio 4, and Sky Sports on Saturday.

Television and radio — Sunday

Programme listings for BBC 1, BBC 2, BBC Prime, BBC World, and Sky Sports on Sunday.

Handwritten note in Arabic script: "مكاتبنا في لندن"

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including "Islam" and "I have s... daughter's that b..."



The prize of the triumphant Islamist forces is the Afghan capital, Kabul — or, rather, what is left of it after years of destructive factional fighting

Islamist Taliban militia seize Kabul

TALIBAN fighters drove around Kabul flying the white flag of their movement yesterday after capturing the Afghan capital following an overnight battle that left hundreds dead and government forces fleeing to the north.

Outside the once elegant presidential palace, the bodies of a previous Afghan president, Mohammed Najibullah, and his brother, Shabpur Ahmedzai, a former security chief, hung from a lamppost. They had been mutilated.

Crowds gathered to jeer at the remains of the former leader. Across the devastated capital, residents waited to see whether the victorious hard-line Islamic force would end four years of factional fighting and rocket attacks that have killed up to 30,000 people, or merely herald a new round of factional warfare.

In the first words of reassurance, the Taliban deputy chief, Mullah Mohammad Rabbani, urged aid agencies to continue working in the capital. The militia's radio broadcast repeated messages promising there would be no witchhunt of opponents.

But aid workers and diplomats were among the hundreds who had already fled during two days of fierce fighting that culminated in government forces retreating late on Thursday. "There was so much panic in the city, so much tension, that everyone who could, fled," said Asad Singh Toor, India's charge d'affaires, whose mission was evacuated shortly before the Taliban came over the hills.

"I could see trucks moving through the city taking the luggage of people who could manage to leave." Taliban claims yesterday to have captured the Baghram air base 18 miles north of Kabul were in doubt. The Afghan ambassador to New Delhi, Masood Khalili, said government forces held areas to the north and west. "They have retreated to within seven and 10 kilometers of the city and have taken their weapons," he said.

Mr Khalili accused the Pakistani security services of helping the Taliban take Kabul. He claimed uniformed men from Pakistani military intelligence and interior ministry irregulars were involved.

The Taliban now control more than two thirds of Afghanistan. A key figure who could have mounted the counter-attack against them, the Uzbek leader, General Rashid Dostum, yesterday rejected an offer to join the Rabbani forces to fight them. Taliban radio responded by referring to Gen Dostum as a "good Muslim". An alliance with him could leave Taliban forces free to concentrate on provinces still under Commander Massoud's control. Pakistan became the first government to recognise the new Taliban regime. Government officials said a delegation was leaving immediately for Kabul where an interim, six-man ruling council has been set up.

"I have sent my daughters to Iran. It's that bad"

Maggie O'Kane



Government soldier fleeing north after fall of Kabul

CROWDS gathered at dawn yesterday to ogle the body of a former Afghan president, Mohammed Najibullah, dangling from public display outside the palace he once occupied.

After 18 years of war in their country — and devastation in the capital in the four years since Najibullah's fall — some Afghans dream that the draconian sons of Islam will finally bring peace and stability.

But elsewhere in the country, people have already learned that the Taliban's peace comes at a price. Since 1994 the militia has made steady military progress across Afghanistan. The army of mostly illiterate, former mujahidin fighters — estimated to number 10,000 — has tried to force Afghan women back into the dark ages, and exact justice through public amputation.

There have been executions where the condemned spend half an hour dying suspended from a cross. They are held in public, sometimes in the local football stadium, sometimes on the side of the road with the townspeople forced to look on.

The men and boys of the Taliban were born during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan from 1979 to 1989. Since the Islamic fighters of that time were giving the Russians problems, the United States, European countries, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia backed them.

times in the war against Soviet occupation in the 1980s, the movement took the former royal capital of Kandahar in 1994, and began to spread.

When the Taliban began their march to power in 1994, the country had five main militia groups. Lucrative trade routes to Iran and to the East were being blocked by freelance bandits levying arbitrary taxes.

Powerful business forces wanted the 1,000-mile silk road — where merchants had traded for a millennium — cleared of highwaymen — and the Taliban seemed to be the people to do it.

Powerful interests wanted to see stability in the region, and there was talk of a US-Saudi venture building an oil pipeline to the Caspian. Sunni Muslim Pakistan was also eager to encourage a group at odds with Shi'ite Iran, which is also interested in who rules Afghanistan.

rolled through their finances. Now the Taliban is less dependent on outside support. They have heroin.

The militia came to power promising Pakistan and their Western sponsors to tackle the heroin trade — but wars are expensive.

On a white noticeboard in the first-floor meeting room of the World Food Programme office in Kandahar, not far from the headquarters of the Islamic police, the first item underlined in thick blue felt pen reads: "Poppy Boom".

Here, in the heart of Taliban country, the United Nations drug control programme in Afghanistan estimates that poppy cultivation has doubled in the last five years, making it worth 250 million a year on the European market.

At least 25 million goes directly to the Taliban. This year, Afghanistan will supply half of the world's heroin needs. Most of this comes from Taliban territory.

In the heart of that territory at Mirwais Mina, Haji Ned Hussein, a 50-year-old poppy farmer, says: "They come just like you do, with a pen and paper to work out what the yield is and what the 10 per cent we must pay to them is."

iversity, she has been forced to give up her studies.

"I have even sent my daughters to Iran to go to school — that's how it is here now," said one Afghan, who studied in the US.

In Herat, the nursing school was closed in May when a group of armed Taliban shut its gates and ordered the women to return to their family compounds.

Jeanne van der Weyden, a British nurse working for the Medicines Sans Frontières aid agency returned from Afghanistan after nine months teaching midwifery to village women. While she was there, the Taliban objected to her programme accusing her of training women to work.

"I got letters from them saying what I was doing was against the teaching of the Koran and ordering me to stop the classes," said Ms Van der Weyden. "In one clinic we set up we found husbands coming looking for medicines for their wives who were seriously ill back in the compounds but forbidden to come to the clinic themselves."

In Afghanistan, the number of women who die in childbirth at 84 per 1,000 is one of the highest in the world, yet no one doctor can attend a woman giving birth. Taliban policies mean an end to qualified female nurses.

Afghan women in Kandahar tell of life under the Taliban

THE Guardian asked two women in the Taliban-controlled town to describe life since the militia took control in 1994. They did not sign their letters.



The Taliban insist on veils

I AM an educated Afghan lady. Today, there are many families among the residents of Kandahar province that have lost a male relative during the past 18 years of war. One has lost a father, another a brother, or a son, another a husband. There are some families that have no man left in their households.

However, despite this, the Taliban demand that women be accompanied by a male relative — father or husband, brother or son — whenever they go shopping, visit a doctor or travel. Which holy book is it that prescribes this?

But the Taliban stop the women in bazaars, beat them, or spray acid at them. Is this sharia (Islamic law)? They demand that poor women — who cannot feed themselves — should wear the veil, which costs 150,000 afghanis. They do not accept a scarf as hejab [a requirement for women to cover their body]. In their view, women should wear the full veil.

Every day, a new law is enforced against women. Sometimes they are told not to go out in new or shiny clothes; sometimes that even a doctor should wear a veil while seeing a patient. A female patient is not even supposed to see a doctor because, according to the Taliban, illness comes from God. However, God Almighty says there is also a solution to every problem.

The way they claim sharia ought to be observed, the Taliban should start riding donkeys instead of driving latest model cars and should wear garments made out of local textiles instead of expensive clothes. Reform of society begins with oneself. We have a lot more to say, and there is much about the Taliban to be exposed.

IN KANDAHAR city, there is only one high school for boys, and that's all. Girls are not allowed to go to school. Only a few female nurses and doctors work in clinics and hospitals. They have been beaten for talking to male colleagues. Women doctors wear the veil, otherwise they are not to come to work.

You should see for yourself how difficult it is for a doctor or a nurse to see a patient or a woman in labour while one is wearing a veil. Such a hejab is not in Islam, nor in the Koran. We do not know who these people [Taliban] are or where they have come from. We know only that they have been trained and sent by the Pakistanis. We are being warned everywhere that we cannot work.

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Fact file

Who they are: Fundamentalist Islamic militia with membership of about 10,000 men and boys. In Pashto, Taliban means "seekers" or "students".

Where they are: Since the fall of Kabul yesterday, they dominate at least two-thirds of the country.

Their aim: Officially, to run the world's most hardline Islamic state. Unofficially, to rule using Islam as ideological justification, and to control a slice of the \$50 million heroin crop.

Line on Women: No schools for girls over 10. The Taliban have closed all women's universities in areas they run. Women pressed not to work, and not to leave homes unless accompanied by a male.

Origins: Either former mujahidin fighters backed by the United States and the

Saudis during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979-89) or their male descendants and indoctrinated child-followers.

Backers: Reportedly backed by elements in Pakistan, particularly military intelligence, and Saudi Arabia.

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News in brief

Scout leader jailed for abuse of boys

A SCOUT leader was jailed for seven years at the Old Bailey yesterday for sexually abusing eight boys over a 10-year period. Brian Jupp, aged 57, told one boy that sleeping together was a tip for survival, the court heard.

Private schooling backed

MORE than half of Labour supporters disagree with Tony Blair's commitment to scrap the assisted places scheme aimed at helping poorer families pay independent school fees, according to an opinion poll yesterday.

Diocese defends gay festival

A SERVICE and festival at Southwark Cathedral to mark the 20th anniversary of the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement was yesterday described as a "day-long festival of gay sex" by the Reform Group of Anglican clergy and worshippers.

Veto on open-cast mining

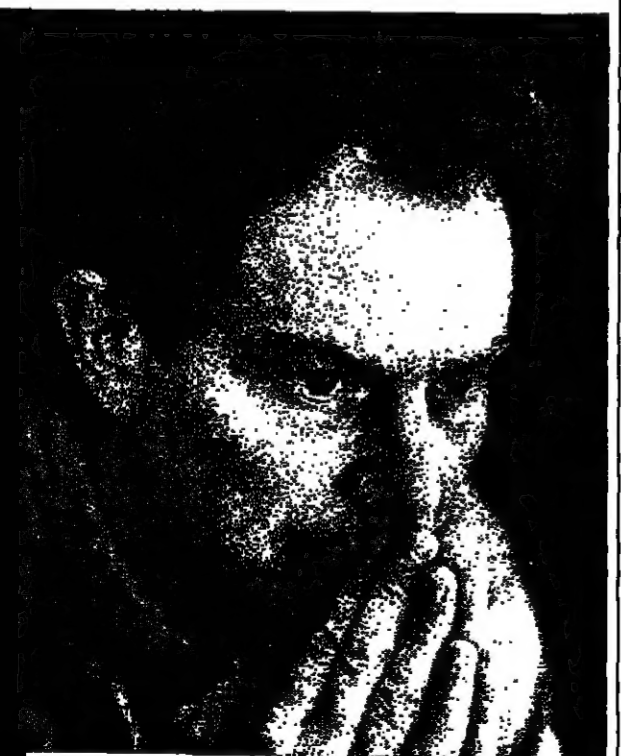
THE Environment Secretary, John Gummer, yesterday upheld a planning inspector's verdict and refused to allow open-cast mining in the Yorkshire coalfield. Villagers at Sharncliffe, near Wakefield, whose deep-mining pit was closed four years ago, had argued that strip-mining by H J Banks would destroy nascent attempts to "green" the area and attract other industry and commerce.

Girl quizzed in murder hunt

A GIRL aged 11 has been interviewed by detectives hunting for killer of teenager Caroline Dickinson in a hostel in Brittany. The girl was with a school party from Padstow, Cornwall, holidaying in St Brieuc, Brittany, in June when she found a stranger in her dormitory, who was chased away by a teacher.

Reminder of 1983 romance

WHEN Don Cunningham and Kathy Pacillo took a romantic cruise from New York to Bermuda in 1983, they threw a message overboard in a bottle. Thirteen years later, and happily married, they learned their message had arrived in Scotland.



Jobseeker
Tony Blair and his people in a special portfolio of Jane Bowron portraits. Only in The Tiddler, the Observer's little bit extra
The Observer



The legacy of 60 a day

JOE Potter (left) smoked 60 cigarettes a day from the age of 17 until cancer was diagnosed 11 years ago. "I was never without one," he recalls.

Now 68, he had a lung removed and had to retire at 57. Once a Newmarket jockey weighing six stone seven, he has ballooned to 15 stones because he can no longer take exercise. "I can't even ride a horse."

When he went down with lung cancer, he had to give his job transporting racehorses. "I couldn't even drive a lorry. Tobacco has ruined my life. I get out of breath and I get a terrible pain in my side."

Mr Potter, who lives with his wife in Bletchley, Buckinghamshire, welcomes the news that the legal action is to go ahead. "All I want to do is get it over and done with — as long as they don't come on us for a lot of money after the case if they win."

"I've got a nice bungalow that's all paid for and we've just had a new conservatory put on it."

"I learnt too late in life about it all, but I would like to see this case come to court to help other people."

PHOTOGRAPH: LUPPA MATTHEWS

UK cancer victims sue tobacco firms

No legal aid, but lawyers take case on 'no win, no fee' basis

Clare Dyer and Lisa Buckingham

FORTY lung cancer victims are to sue the cigarette manufacturers, Imperial Tobacco and Gallahers, for millions of pounds, in the first mass action by smokers in the British courts.

an expert on group actions. The case is the first group action to be run on such a basis. Such deals, introduced a year ago, are seen by many solicitors as too risky for big cases, and are mainly used for one-off accident claims.

In the US, despite two decades of litigation, no tobacco manufacturer has yet paid a penny in compensation. Law firms there have been bankrupted after trying to take on the tobacco giants. Now, 69 law firms and several state governments, looking to recoup billions of dollars spent on smoking-related illnesses, have formed a powerful alliance.

Imperial and Gallahers together account for 60 per cent of the UK market. The British cancer victims have been warned that the manufacturers could pursue them for their legal costs if the case is unsuccessful, but have decided to press ahead.

Maryn Day, a senior partner of Leigh Day & Co, said: "It was clear that the only way for the tobacco victims to gain access to justice in the British courts was for lawyers to take on the cases through the no win, no fee scheme."

Legal Aid Board pulled the plug, added: "We know exactly what our case is."

The lawyers will argue that the manufacturers knew the risks of tar by 1950 and should have taken steps to reduce the tar in their products. The case has the potential to be much bigger than past group actions over transport disasters or faulty drugs, because lung cancer claims 30,000 new victims each year.

to cast a cloud over next month's flotation of Imperial Tobacco, which is being spun off by the Hanson Group.

Although Imperial said it would vigorously defend the claim, the case undermines the company's selling point as one of the few tobacco groups so far immune to legal action.

Imperial sells largely to the UK market, where US-style litigation was seen as a distant threat. The value of the group could be undermined if potential investors reckon Britain will follow America into being an unsafe place to market tobacco.

Mother fights to halt son's surgery

Yates and Geldof are headed for a new round of public acrimony

A WOMAN defying doctors' advice by refusing to allow her baby to have liver transplant surgery is at the centre of a test case over a parent's right to choose.

The 27-year-old says she was "coerced" into signing a hospital consent form for her son, then seven months old, to have the operation, the Court of Appeal in London heard.

By back to Britain for the operation. Mr Francis told the appeal judges: "If the child does not have the operation, it is a near certainty that within a short period of time the child will die."

But he described Mr Justice Connell's decision as "invasive" of the right of parents to choose whether children should undergo surgery. "The decision of the parents must be respected."

boy, who cannot be named for legal reasons, was born in April last year with acute liver problems and within weeks underwent "quite major abdominal surgery" which was not a success.

Mr Francis said the mother was "persuaded" to sign a hospital consent form for liver transplant in November last year. "It seems to have been made clear to her that if she didn't sign the consent form she wouldn't be able to take her baby home. She says she was coerced into giving her consent."

he would not live a further 10 years. Mr Francis said the boy's mother and 32-year-old father, both health care professionals, were unmarried. They had coincidentally taken their son abroad just as a suitable liver was found for transplant.

Doctors where the family now live were willing to respect the mother's decision. He said of Mr Justice Connell's decision: "It is a wholly exceptional step that a child should be ordered back to this country not for the purpose of custody proceedings, but for the sole purpose of having an operation."

with their two-month-old daughter Heavenly Hiraani, were informed of the raid and Mr Geldof's court action by telephone. Their solicitor refused to comment yesterday.

Meanwhile, Mr Geldof, his girlfriend Jeanne Marie and Ms Yates's nanny Anita Debnay, who has reportedly resigned, are spending the weekend at Davington Priory, his home in Kent. Police yesterday refused to comment on reports that the drug allegedly found in Ms Yates's home in Chelsea, west London, was opium.

EU toughens extradition law

Stephen Bates in Dublin

EUROPEAN justice ministers yesterday agreed to moves which will cause consternation on the Spanish Costa del Crime — to make it easier to extradite criminals between member states for offences ranging from drug smuggling to terrorism and tax offences.

The convention, signed in Dublin, will enable member states to apply to extradite anyone suspected of an offence carrying a sentence of more than one year in their own country or six months in the country of refuge.

The document — which has to be ratified by individual states — also makes provision for them to extradite their own citizens if they are wanted for offences abroad, although Germany, France and Portugal expressed immediate reservations about whether they would endorse that procedure, which would require constitutional amendments. Technically, the provision has to be ratified within five years, but diplomats made clear they intended to delay it indefinitely by seeking opt-outs.

settling disputes arising from the convention. Although it formally protects people against extradition for reasons of persecution, it does not prevent proceedings even if the offence with which they are charged is not a crime in the country where they have taken refuge.

Nora Owen, the Irish justice minister, chairing the meeting, welcomed the move as a significant step forward in combating crime, including terrorist offences. Member

Diplomats made clear they intended to delay the measure indefinitely by seeking opt-outs.

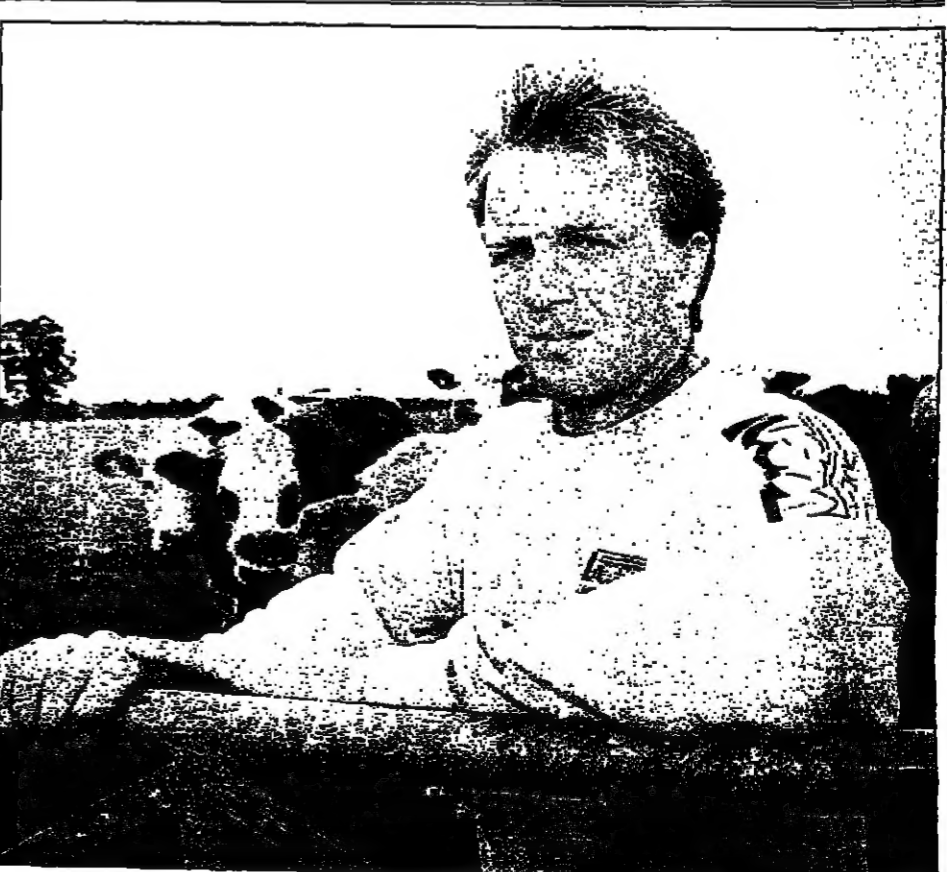
ber states will not in principle be allowed to regard any offence as having political justification. "We have prevented people hiding behind political claims. A crime is a crime and if they have committed a crime they will be extradited."

Beef cull delay crisis on farms

Paul Brown on new financial strain

SAM Johnson has 100 cattle he would rather had been slaughtered months ago, but he has to keep on feeding them because he cannot find an abattoir which will take them.

As the grass stops growing this autumn the now useless dairy cows and unsaleable beef cattle will begin to eat their way through his stock of silage and corn which was intended to keep his 500 head of productive livestock alive through the winter. It costs between £10 and £14 a week to keep a cow in fodder during the winter so he faces a loss of £1,000 a week — money that he needs to keep his farming business in Wiltshire afloat.



Bleak future... Sam Johnson with cattle waiting to be destroyed PHOTOGRAPH: DARRIN JACK

the Government's much criticised culling scheme. The Government finally admitted yesterday the backlog of cattle "on the waiting list" for slaughter is as many as 340,000, which represents a terrible drain on farm resources.

Among farmers who never seem to reach the top of the waiting list there is talk of skulduggery, backhanders and queue-jumping. The Intervention Board, which runs the scheme for the Government, says there are no rules and that market forces prevail. Abattoirs can choose who they like to bring their cattle for slaughter. All receive the same live-weight payment of 83p a kilo.

Mr Johnson, of Stokes Marsh Farm at Coulston, has been on the waiting list for cows for slaughter since March 20, when the ban on the sale of cattle over 30 months old for the human food chain was imposed.

Advertisement for BES CAMO D featuring a can of Borden's Camo D and a testimonial from a man who has been on the waiting list for slaughter since March 20.

The Israeli blunder that led to bloodshed

Any attempt to tighten a grip on the Old City was bound to trigger violence, reports Derek Brown

THE Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, let the cat out of the bag yesterday, when he acknowledged that the decision to open the north end of the old Hasmonian tunnel in the Old City "expresses our sovereignty over Jerusalem".

The Israeli government has produced other excuses for its disastrous misjudgement — the tunnel's single existing entrance was congested; its improvement would boost the local economy; it would be open to all faiths — but the issue of sovereignty is the most significant.

Jerusalem has become so tightly controlled by Israel since its conquest of the city, that successive governments have clearly come to believe there is no further point in even discussing its status.

There is now not only a clear overall Jewish majority in the city, but a Jewish majority in the east side, the boundaries of which were expanded before Israel annexed the city after the 1967 war.

But the vast majority of the 150,000 or so Palestinians who live in East Jerusalem hold the equally passionate belief that it remains occupied territory; a belief at least implicitly supported in Israel's 1993 peace accord with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

That agreement stipulated that a permanent peace treaty would follow negotiations on

three-day trip to London, Paris and Bonn. It was not until he reached the French capital on Wednesday that the blood began to flow.

It started with protests called by Mr Arafat. The protests quickly turned to confrontation and then to gunbattles between Israeli and Palestinian security forces.

The official Israeli version is that Israeli forces used rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse rioters, resorting to live rounds only after the Palestinian forces opened fire. It is asserted as fact that Mr Arafat ordered his men into action.

But reporters who witnessed the events said the Israelis fired first in almost every case, and that there was spontaneity in the reaction.

What is not in dispute is that there was a total breakdown of discipline among Mr Arafat's collection of semi-autonomous security forces, usually referred to as the Palestinian police.

The breakdown fitted the mood in the self-rule enclaves of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where mobs began yelling at the men in uniform and hurling stones at them.

The death toll had climbed to 68 by yesterday evening. Both sides proclaimed their faith in peace; both sides laid all blame on the other.

In the Gaza Strip, Mr Arafat ordered his regional and local commanders to rein in their men, but he continued to berate Israel for the "massacre". Mr Netanyahu spoke of the loss of 12 soldiers. He was in favour of peace talks without preconditions, he said.

Mr Netanyahu began a



Women waving Palestinian flags mourn a relative killed during clashes with Israeli soldiers in the West Bank town of Ramallah. PHOTOGRAPH BY ENRIC MARTI

UN fails to cool tempers

Jan Black in New York

ARABS and Israel traded insults in the United Nations yesterday amid a storm of diplomatic activity to de-escalate the crisis in Jerusalem. But there were few signs that the peace process could be saved.

In a specially convened Security Council meeting that highlighted bitter international divisions, the Palestinian representative, Farouq al-Qadoumi, accused a "brutal" Israel of placing peace "in mortal peril".

Egypt's foreign minister, Amr Musa, hinted that Arab countries might return to war if Israel did not change course.

But the Israeli foreign minister, David Levy, insisted his country would not be put "on trial" and urged the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, to control his forces.

The Security Council meeting was convened despite American reluctance to allow the UN a role. President Bill Clinton has carefully avoided condemning Israel outright, although privately US officials say the Israelis have not been co-operating.

The US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, was conspicuously absent from the meeting, with diplomats predicting a US veto of an Arab-drafted and Russian-backed resolution condemning Israel.

British Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind proposed a four-point plan to bridge the gap between the Arabs and Washington: a moratorium on opening the tunnel in Jerusalem to tourists; a speedy Netanyahu-Arafat meeting; an early Israeli army withdrawal from Hebron; and an international commission on sensitive archaeological issues.

Tunnel 'temporarily shut'

JERUSALEM'S oldest, most controversial, tunnel was firmly closed yesterday, guarded by a prodigious force of regular and paramilitary police, writes Derek Brown in Jerusalem.

The Via Dolorosa, a hallowed place which has become a focus for hatred, was thick with police. An unwitting tourist could easily have missed the lane's newest attraction: a pair of stout grey steel doors, now padlocked.

The rightwing Likud government, which ordered

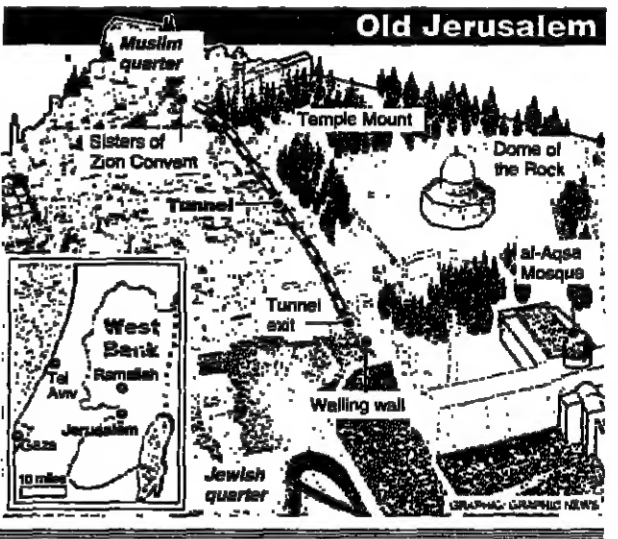
the Via Dolorosa end of the tunnel to be opened on Monday, had vowed that it would not give in to the violence sparked by the decision. That pledge remains unbroken only because it was not the government but the Likud-run Jerusalem municipality which ordered the temporary closure of the tunnel.

The 488-yard tunnel is next to the Temple Mount, once home to ancient Jewish temples and now the site of the al-Aqsa mosque, Islam's third holiest shrine. The explosion of violence

which followed the decision to open the Via Dolorosa entrance is rooted in a widespread Muslim belief, slenderly based but passionately held, that the tunnel will undermine the al-Aqsa mosque.

Israel insists that the tunnel runs nowhere near Muslim holy places and, moreover, will boost the Muslim economy.

George, a Christian trader, insisted the doors should stay shut. "Would the Jews let us have tunnels under their holy places? I don't think so."



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Bosnia poll fraud 'whitewashed'

Julian Borger in Sarajevo

THE international body supervising Bosnia's elections was charged last night with orchestrating a whitewash when it overruled appeals from its own legal advisers for a recount after evidence emerged of large-scale fraud.

A legal tribunal set up by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe recommended the recount because of a suspiciously high turnout in the poll two weeks ago raised "a significant possibility of double voting, other forms of fraud, or counting irregularities."

But the decision was overruled swiftly by a panel of senior OSCE officials and representatives of Bosnia's three main ethnic groups, which said it had already carried out checks and found only minor discrepancies which would not affect the overall result.

The panel ruled that it was "neither practical nor necessary to order a full recount. It urged the tribunal to drop the case."

The International Crisis Group, which monitored the elections and submitted a formal complaint alleging polling fraud, called the ruling

"scandalous". The ICG found that the average turnout among non-refugee voters had been well over 100 per cent, with the likely implication that votes had been cast on behalf of Bosnians who were dead or missing.

Robert Frowick, the chief of the OSCE mission and a US diplomat, last week ordered a revision of the electorate from the 2.8 million estimated by both the OSCE and the United Nations, to 3.3 million, producing a more plausible percentage turnout.

However, in an interim judgment yesterday, the OSCE's complaints tribunal found that Mr Frowick's revised figure was probably inflated, and ruled that "a proper actuarial and demographic analysis would be likely to lead to a more accurate, and lower, figure."

The OSCE spokeswoman in Sarajevo, Nicole Szulc, said a recount would not have discovered whether votes had been cast for the dead, as it would have simply involved counting the same ballots.

The only way of assessing whether there had been "a graveyard vote" would be to cross-reference lists of voters against those of the dead and missing, and that was judged to have been too time-consuming and difficult.

Mr Frowick is expected to certify the results of the Bosnian elections tomorrow or Monday, but it is still unclear whether the newly elected three-man presidency of Muslim, Serb and Croat nationalist leaders will hold its first meeting on schedule on Monday. Diplomats say the Bosnian Serb member of the presidency, Momcilo Krajisnik, has not given his agreement to a venue in central Sarajevo, within the Muslim-Croatist federation.

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As Rwanda's genocide tribunal opens in disarray, CHRIS MCGREAL hears the appalling story of four Hutu sisters

Blood-filled eyes behold only pain

JOSEPHINE Mukankusi remembers a time before Jean-Paul Akayesu became mayor of her hillside commune...

maritan and gave us a bed but her husband was Interahamwe who spent most of the day killing...

worried everyone. Josephine's only brother, Malachias, lived nearby and manned the roadblocks...

"Akayesu was a friend of my husband's. They grew up together. He knew our children. We thought he was a good man...

One of Josephine's younger sisters, Vestine, had also found shelter in the house of a killer - a Hutu soldier...

"They came to search day and night. We would change the hiding places when we saw people coming...

Last week Akayesu became the first Hutu accused of genocide in Rwanda in 1994 to go on trial before an international tribunal...

Josephine is one of four Hutu sisters who married Tutsi men. Despite Rwanda's age-old divisions, mixed marriages were relatively common...

Vestine's husband, Bernard, was still on the run. Word spread that he was passing secret messages to the Tutsi rebels...

But that was before the Tutsi rebel invasion of Rwanda in 1990 threw the loyalties of all Tutsis into question...

Interahamwe militiamen came looking for Vestine's husband, Bernard. He fled to his brother-in-law's house...

"As they led him to the main barrier beside Taba market they were cutting him with machetes...

"They marched me to the hill and took the baby from my back. Then they killed him in front of me"

night but soon ran into the Interahamwe. Money changed hands. Bernard ran. Simon returned home...

As the machete-waving crowd approached, the children scattered to their hiding places. Josephine had gone to buy food...

Ignoring Akayesu's assurances, Josephine, Edouard and their six children fled before their neighbours destroyed their homes...

The militiamen were mostly drunken young thugs. Some wore women's clothes or wigs. They carried machetes or thick wooden clubs...

Two days after she reached her parents a group of men knocked on the door and demanded Josephine's three-year-old son...

"We were hiding in the bush but my husband was afraid he would attract the Interahamwe who would kill the children...

One by one the four sisters gravitated toward their parents' house, which was overflowing with their parents, two unmarried sisters and 14 children...

When Josephine saw Vestine, bloodied and beaten, and the children gone, she ran to the barricade...

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First trial on hold

THE first Rwanda genocide trial was put on hold for a month yesterday amid farcical court scenes a day after it opened...

The judges at the frequently delayed international tribunal in Arusha, Tanzania, initially rejected a defence plea to drop charges of genocide against Jean-Paul Akayesu...

Mr Akayesu arrived at the court in handcuffs but was brought to the dock unshackled. He sat in the dock staring ahead, showing occasional flickers of anxiety...

As the former mayor of Taba commune in central Rwanda, Mr Akayesu is accused of organising the murder of Tutsi children, women and men in his own office...

A victim of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda when Hutus slaughtered hundreds of thousands of thousands of Tutsis. Militiamen, often led by doctors and teachers, used thick wooden clubs studded with nails to torture and kill

to be at the scene of his last crime. The 14 children were clubbed and cut to pieces. They were almost certainly all dead by the time they were thrown into the pit latrines...

News in brief

Car bombing kills seven

A car bomb killed at least seven people and wounded 20 yesterday near the market in Boufarik, Algeria, security forces said...

Armenia patrols

Thousands of troops backed by armoured vehicles patrolled Yerevan, Armenia, for a second day yesterday following President Levon Ter-Petrosyan's presidential election victory...

New Thai poll

The Thai prime minister, Banharn Silpa-archa, dissolved parliament yesterday, putting an abrupt end to a week of political confusion...

Bridegroom bolts

A groom who bolted while making his marriage vows in Auckland had to be rescued by police when his irate bride and prospective mother-in-law chased him into the street...

Palme role denied

The former apartheid spy Craig Williamson has denied charges by a South African police colleague that he was behind the killing in 1986 of the Swedish prime minister, Olof Palme...

Kurdish clashes

Turkish soldiers killed 60 Kurdish guerrillas in clashes yesterday in Hakkari and Sirnak provinces bordering Iraq and Iran...

New fish found

Scientists in Vietnam have found a new fish eight inches long with a gold stripe on its back on the mountainous border with Laos...

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Advertisement for 'Benefit from the growth potential of more than 2,000 companies around the world - tax free.' Promoting the Norwich Global Tracking PEP investment plan.

Advertisement for 'Christian mystic journey' featuring a portrait of a woman and text promoting a spiritual experience.

Handwritten Arabic text at the bottom of the page: 'مكتبة القرآن الكريم'

Mohammed Najibullah

Mojahedin at the gates

M OHAMMED Najibullah, who has been murdered in Kabul aged 49, joins a long line of Afghan rulers who have died violently. Yet in a society which has known two decades of turbulence, he may be remembered for the relative stability of his six years in power.

Najibullah was often simplistically described as a Soviet puppet or as a mass murderer because of his period running the Khad, the secret police. Yet he became a skilful and intelligent politician who kept the Afghan capital, Kabul, free of war and won the respect of its inhabitants, especially after it fell prey to the jealousies and intrigues of the mujahedin.

Najibullah was born to a middle-class Pashtun family. A strong man with a cheery laugh, he was a medical student and activist on the campus of Kabul University in the 1950s, when he bubbled with ideas wanting to modernise a feudal country.

Some followed the Islamic path advocated by Professor Burnahuddin Rabbani, who after exile in Pakistan became Afghanistan's president a few months after Najibullah's overthrow. For Najibullah the route was through the secular People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the only one of the three campus Marxist groups which identified with Moscow. The PDPA became the best organised and it was no surprise when it mounted a successful coup in April 1978.

In power party divisions grew, based on ideology, the pace of the revolution, and clan and personality issues. Najibullah was a member of the Parcham wing which fell out with the impatient, radicalising Khalq faction under Hafizullah Amin as it pushed the literacy drives and sweeping agricultural reform with little sensitivity to peas-

ant conservatism. Coupled with the minimal role the regime gave to Islam, its policies launched two decades of civil war. Najibullah fell out with the Khalq faction and went into exile until the December 1979 Soviet invasion. The Red Army's arrival reinforced the view that the Kabul regime was alien, theists implant, giving new impetus to the civil war and turning it into a classic cold war struggle. The United States and Pakistan's military government took the mujahedin side, based in the refugee camps of Peshawar and the North-west Frontier Province.

Najibullah ran the secret police, a job which inevitably in a civil war involved cruelty and killing. The regime controlled the cities and could pass along the main roads. The mujahedin moved at will in the mountains south and east of Kabul but never seized a major town.

FOR AT least five years the war was stalemated, then Gorbachev decided that withdrawal was the best option. The KGB thought that, as a Pashtun, Najibullah would have a better chance of managing the retreat and keeping a pro-Moscow regime in power than Babrak Karmal, who had been installed when the tanks first arrived.

Thus did Moscow support Najibullah's 1986 takeover. He gradually reversed the reforms of 1978 and sought to broaden the base of the regime by re-emphasising Islamic and nationalist symbols. It was an uphill struggle because of the easy propaganda target of Soviet atheism. But by February 1988, when the last Soviet troops pulled out, Najibullah had done a remarkable job of consolidating support — helped partly by the mujahedin's fanatical posturing which frightened Kabul's urban middle class.

The US and most of the diplomatic community did not understand Najibullah's support base. "Once the Soviet protectors are gone, the



Keeping the peace... Najibullah kept the Afghan capital, Kabul, free of war

Sabine Zlatin

Au revoir, les enfants

SABINE Zlatin, who has died aged 68, was known for more than 50 years as La Dame d'Izieu. With her husband, Miron, she had made a large house at Izieu, a tiny village in the Ain department, into a wartime refuge for Jewish children.

There were some 44 young Jews there, aged from five to 17, with seven adults, when on April 6, 1944, a detachment of German troops accompanied by three civilians thought to be members of the Gestapo, raided the house. The Jews were taken to Auschwitz and over the next few weeks perished in the gas chambers. One child was released during the journey because he was not Jewish, and one woman used false identity papers to escape death. Her husband and two of the children were shot in Estonia.

Zlatin had been working as a Red Cross nurse after the defeat of 1940. She was in the region of Montpellier when the anti-semitic laws of the Vichy government removed her from this position. She then worked for a "save the children" organisation and visited the camps where French officials had interned Jewish families of foreign origins prior to transferring them to eastern Europe.

She saved many Jewish children from the camps, placing them with families or in religious establishments. It was quite common for her to cycle out of a camp, past the French guards, with a child concealed under her coat.

When she was advised that this was becoming dangerous, the sub-prefect of the region, Marcel Wintzer, arranged that she should move to Izieu, in the Italian occupation zone, where she could keep the children in relative comfort and safety. And for slightly more than a year, Izieu was a happy place, at the time having more than 80 inmates.

But there were warning signs: strangers arrived, showing an interest in the house, so Zlatin went to Montpellier seeking another house of refuge. It was while she was there, on Holy Thursday, that the Germans went to Izieu.

When she returned she found an empty house. On the table lay the children's bowls with their unfinished breakfast cocoa. She went to Vichy to ask that the children be brought back, but found no sympathy for Jews of foreign origin. She appealed to the Bishop of Chambéry but he said he could not place Jewish children with others.

Sabine Schwast had been



Zlatin meeting Mitterrand

Silas Roy Crain

Sweet gospel sound that still stirs the soul



Celebrity singers... the Soul Stirrs, with S R Crain (front, right) and Sam Cooke (front)

SILAS Roy Crain, who has died aged 85, spent almost all his life at the helm of arguably America's most influential and innovative male vocal quartet, the Soul Stirrs. And of all western popular music forms none has been more enduring than the male vocal quartet. Latter-day groups of male singers, trading harmonies and antiphonal leads, may trace their provenance to the Beatles or, at a push, the Temptations, but the origin goes back much further.

The years following the American Civil War threw up a musical phenomenon in schools and colleges established for an elite of freed slaves. Across the old South, "jubilee singers" synthesised spirituals and European concert pretensions. The cost of maintaining such large ensembles of singers gave way to more economical groups and the quartet emerged in the early part of the 20th century. As an 11-year-old in Trinity, Texas, Crain formed his first group with schoolfriends at

the Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church, performing traditional jubilee spirituals. A choir trainer approached Crain afterwards and declared that they had stirred his soul, prompting the group's name. Around 1931, as the Depression hit, S R Crain (the S was often taken to refer to the designation "Senior") moved 100 miles south to Houston to work in a rice mill.

In Houston, Crain encountered the Reverend Walter LeBeau's New Pleasant Grove Singers. The quartet's baritone had just died and Crain was asked to join. He did so stipulating that they change their name to that of his original group.

He was highly unusual vocal stylist, prompting Lomax to declare that they created "the most incredible polyrhythmic music you ever heard". Crain added Robert H Harris and bass singer Jesse Farley, cementing a partnership that endured for 20 years. Harris became second lead voice, allowing one lead to solo across an instant four-part harmonic underframe. This, and other stylistic devices, were then unheard of but the innovations that Crain (by now both manager and arranger) and Harris introduced transformed all quartet music — secular as well as religious — and paved the way for every popular singing group that followed.

The Soul Stirrs moved to Chicago in 1937, immersing themselves in the new gospel music — secular as well as religious — and paved the way for every popular singing group that followed. Crain is survived by his wife, Myrtis; a son, Steven; two daughters, Loretta Vaughn and Delores Smith; 14 grandchildren and 15 great-grandchildren.

IV Broughton
S R (Silas Roy) Crain, singer and arranger, born 1911; died September 14, 1996

Face To Faith

Christians also have a mystic journey to make

EVERY true religion is born from a mystical experience. But as it grows and attracts increasing numbers of followers, this mystical aspect is lost or hidden. It becomes secretive teachings which only selected people may become initiates, like the Sufis within Islam. Or it is rejected altogether as in the protestant Christian Church. Either way the majority of followers know little about it.

Moses leading the exodus from Egypt, Ezekiel's vision of the chariot, Jacob climbing the ladder, the building of the tabernacle, and Solomon's temple are all examples of stories which religious dogma has always insisted we take as staple but unalterable historical narrative. The puzzle is how the depth of meaning in these stories has never been explored in the way that the meditations of Buddha, and other eastern philosophers such as Confucius and Lao Tzu have been in the West. Why should our knowledge of eastern esoteric thought be so much greater than that of our western system, even to the point where many believe there is only an eastern mysticism?

One explanation is that the protestant Church has not allowed any of the mystical traditions to penetrate its dogmas, along with its rejection of a ritual, and its adherence to a literal acceptance of the Bible. Catholicism has its inner teachings. We know a little about the Sufis within Islam but this is due more to the colourful dance ritual of the whirling dervishes than to an understanding of their ideas. The Jews are aware of the existence of the Kabbalah, although many of those who practice it tend to consider it specifically a part of their own faith, and not to be shared with gentiles. Christians and Muslims have not maintained the mystical inheritance of the Hebrews. But in the Kabbalah, a tradition, five hundred years ago, it underwent a reformation in Spain, which was part of a large Islamic empire covering most of the Middle East and almost encircling the Mediterranean, a time when the self-confidence of the Muslim rulers permitted a religious tolerance and freedom not seen in the world since. It was during this period that the present form of the Kabbalah was developed by Jewish mystics, and in such an environment the rebirth was

strongly influenced by Christian and Islamic, as well as neo-Platonic ideas. A more specifically Judaic interpretation was developed in Palestine a century later, though the 15th century Spanish form is the dominant kabbalistic philosophy today. But what does it say to us? How can the tree of life symbol which emerged from the Spanish reformation, and the Old Testament stories have any relevance in today's society? THE 10 circles with the interconnecting paths that make up the tree of life symbol, and the signs and Hebrew words that cover them, look very complicated to anyone browsing through works on the Kabbalah in the high-street bookshops. The 10 circles or spheres — actually four "trees" superimposed one over the other — do look a bit complex, but since they are intended to represent the whole of existence between the divine creation and human life, this is perhaps understandable. In its simplest interpretation the tree is a map for us to find our way back from our existence in human form to our spiritual home, which is really the intention of the believer in any faith. One of the most well-known Bible stories is that of Moses leading the tribes out of

Egypt. This has a profound interpretation within the Kabbalah — it is an analogy of death. It represents the soul leaving the body and finding its way back to the Godhead. Egypt is the physical body and the Israelites represent the soul trapped within it. Just as ordinary people fight to hang on to life, so the Pharaoh did everything possible to prevent his slaves leaving. But death has to come; there has to be a time for every body when the soul finally leaves, and this point of no return is symbolised by the closing in of the Red Sea as the Israelites reach the far shore. The Bible tells how they berated Moses for leading them to this land; they had been slaves in Egypt but at least they had bread and felt secure. Now all they faced was fear and uncertainty in the wilderness. This is how the Kabbalist perceives the soul at death. It is not something which immediately acquires complete knowledge, and finds its reward in paradise, but something which still has to face fear, uncertainty and hardship, yet eventually crosses over to be united in the Godhead — just as the Israelites in the Bible eventually crossed the river into the promised land. Edward Bray is a Kabbalist (and a gentile) and teaches religious philosophy.

Weekend Birthdays

THERE'S been heavy media cover of Brigitte Bardot — 62 today — because her memoirs are on their way out. This gives chaps who may have been young once, like AN Wilson, a chance to declare they'd still be her slave in her derelict, cat-ridden farm to a French track, and lay-out designers of all ages and sexes an opportunity to make a morality tale of the juxtaposition of old film stills and modern news-shots of a formidable Bardot in mid-annual-rights demonstration. As though age only happens to beautiful females who love freely and leave freely. There's a famous statistic that in 1957, 47 per cent of all French conversations were about BB — bet most of those went "She'll be sorry one of these days"; now these days have come and it turns out from 550 pages of confessions she was sorry all along, suicidal, needy, and boozy. How could anyone not have been sorry when their 30th birthday was treated as a calamity in France — Marguerite Duras wrote that day, "I fear is showing in the face. Already the warning signs of evening are there, an evening full of wolves... she is alone, at the head of a team which does not exist." Well, in the vulpine twilight, she does have a team, so there — her



animal organisation, which may be dotty but is not useless — the new regulations at last improving French abattoirs are called the "BB laws". She's sad if you're sorry now.

Today's other birthdays: Prof Sir Colin Berry, morbid anatomist, 89; Joanna Drew, gallery director, 67; Peter Egan, actor, 50; Dame Phyllis Klistanov, former chief nursing officer, DHSS, 74; Sir David Hannay, Britain's UN ambassador, 61; Jeremy Isaacs, director, Royal Opera House, 64; Ellen Malcolm, painter, 73; Marcello Mastroianni, actor, 72; Helen Shapiro, singer, 50; Jon Snow, television journalist, 43; William Staple, director-general, the Takeover Panel, 49. Tomorrow's birthdays: Michelangelo Antonioni, film

director, 84; Gene Autry, cowboy actor, 85; Lord Avebury, Liberal peer, 68; Robert Benton, film director, 64; Richard Bonyngne, conductor, 86; Sebastian Roe, athlete and Conservative MP, 41; Anita Ekberg, actress, 65; Prof Dorothy Emmet, philosopher, 92; Greer Garson, actress, 88; Patricia Hodge, actress, 50; Prof Richard Hodges, prehistorian, 41; Jimmy Knapp, trade unionist, 56; Jerry Lee Lewis, rock 'n' roller, 61; Canon Paul Oestreicher, human rights campaigner, 65; Lech Walesa, former President of Poland, 53.

Death Notices

MASON, Margaret formerly of High Wycombe. Buried peacefully in the Accord Hospice, September 25th. Funeral at 2pm, October 4th, Woodside Crematorium, 48 Broadland Street, Parsloes, Enfield. Tel: 881 226. Donations to Accord Hospice, Hospital Grounds, Hewthorn Road, Parsloes PA2 7SL.

In Memoriam

STATHAM, Cathy, lived in the Kermadec Valley on High Road, 20/20/22, remembered with joy.

Births

CONROY, Jo Martin and Simone, congratulations for Lara. Please send address, West. Place your announcement telephone 0171 713 4267. Fax 0171 713 4126.

Power Bundle £35.00. Free. 777 111. The Guardian Saturday September 28 1996.

Letters to the Editor

In a flare over Mr Blair

MARTIN Jacques's devastating analysis (Tony Blair: the story so far, September 26) tells us more about the problems and failures of new Labour's selected intellectuals...

party machine, need to re-engage with the ordinary membership, and fast. It is time to cut out the crap and get back to the real world.

of people who have not been so fortunate that New Labour seeks to reach. Gloria de Piero, 21 Endlesham Road, London SW19 6JX.

towards the idea of a New Labour government. Surely, with the new right now proud intellectually bankrupt, the left should be in the ascendancy celebrating new ideas and planning for change...

The other Peter goes for Harriet

HARRIET Harman's letter on Labour's pensions policy (September 26) omits the most important element of her plans. Following the Pension Act 1995, the state-pension age will be equalised at 65 for both men and women...

tween pensions and average earnings are pathetic. Firstly, the problems of the very poorest pensioners who she claims "would lose the pension increase found for pound from their benefits" could be redressed by changing the benefits rules.

The pensions minefield

We must help the poor

LABOUR is in trouble. On the eve of its conference, warfare has broken out on the worst possible front: welfare. Division within the party over pensions has widened. It now has only three days to settle this dispute before the conference debate next Wednesday.

We write, therefore we are

ONE hesitates to intervene in a squabble as elevated as the Dawkins-Ward punch-up at Oxford (Letters, September 25). But could both Dawkins ("the universe has no meaning or purpose") and Ward ("meaning and purpose come from God") both be missing the point? Isn't it the human adventure which gives life its meaning and value?

this God. There, is one, or is many, or is divisible, or indivisible, or is an ordered hierarchy culminating or not culminating, in a unity...

ALTHOUGH existence is meaningless, as I am sure it is, this is not a sound reason for us not to base our lives on caring about what is true, just and virtuous.

Monteverdi's Orfeo anywhere in the world, given that the Guardian readers about the disastrous consequences of Labour's pensions policy.

Kabul's savage end

We should not wash our hands lightly

AFGHANISTAN has been a war too many for the Western world since it was "won" when the Soviet army withdrew. It then slid quietly into a series of grim civil conflicts; the latest has now resulted in the occupation of Kabul by the crusading — and fundamentalist — Taliban militia.

Tart art

JOHN Ayo's article (You can swear by it, September 25), on the new play which some theatres have the need to re-title Shopping and ...ing, recalls that it is just 50 years since Sartre wrote his play La Putain respectueuse (The Respectful Prostitute).

Bankers of the world, unite

YOUR report on the initiative by non-governmental organisations and the World Bank (World Bank to admit flaws in policies for poor nations, September 25) did not accurately capture the nature of the endeavour.

A Country Diary

NORTH PEMBROKESHIRE: Two seal pups were wrestling with the pebbles; two females flopping in the water moved slowly around. One pup gave up the struggle, rolled on its back, scratching and enjoying the sun.

How the likely lads made it rich on hot air



Mark Lawson

ON HIS breakfast show yesterday morning on London's Capital Radio, the disc jockey Chris Tarrant was conducting a phone-in about irritating neighbours.

Matthew Bannister, made a speech this week in which he warned that Evans — whose loose tongue and louché manner have brought a series of complaints about bad taste — was neither immune from BBC rates nor indispensable.

Romance, and Penelope Fitzgerald's novel, Human Voices. That these obituaries proved false has rather less to do with post-war broadcasting policy than with post-war transport policy.

waves — so that Radio 1, for example, now has a national competitor, Virgin, and Capital has many more rivals in London — has resulted in a diversification of audiences.

settling his disputes with workmen, his superiors seems powerless to stop him from using BBC airtime to publicise his television show, TFI Friday, on Channel 4.

It could be argued that Tarrant's microphone persona is a form of dishonesty, though one common to broadcasting: the multi-millionaire posing as the ordinary bloke.

Police pursuits

Haven't they anything better to do?

TO Thomas de Quincey it held the keys of Paradise: to others it is a scourge of society. But you don't have to approve of opium to wonder whether the police raiding the home of Paula Yates and Michael Hutchence for a small amount of the drug hidden with sweets under the bed could have made even Smarter use of their time.

Israel in the...
Martin Woollac...
Roy Mattersley...
Bac...
T...

Israel, caught again in the moral maze

Commentary
Martin Woollacott

HERE is one group, among those in western countries eyeing the Middle East over the last few days, who will have read them with a particularly intense mixture of foreboding, anger, and, in some cases, anguish.

At its broadest, the question is where is Zionism, a hundred years after its inception? "So now the gang wants to be happy, does it?" the philosopher Hermann Cohen is said to have snorted, after a Zionist tried to convince him of the value of the enterprise on the grounds that it would make Jews happy. Happiness, indeed, is not the word which immediately springs to mind when contemplating the course of the Zionist project.

What happens in this interplay is of great importance because policy in Israel springs from it, not usually in some immediate sense, but out of its slow evolution.

such concepts as "imagined communities" to do so, speaking on radio, so novels written by statesmen, and of the need of people to be in a "narrative" or a "story". In those days, they were constructing them, sometimes very consciously. Theodor Herzl himself spoke of politics as a dream which became a reality and which could become a dream again. "If you will, it is no dream" was the motto of the novel he wrote about the future Jewish state.

Mostly, this is the story of modern nationalism, which has three obvious characteristics. The first is necessity, in that, as Ernest Gellner argued, the modern world is inconceivable without nationalism and nations. They are not an option but part of the way we live.

in Goldberg's book and in another excellent new book, *The Contrivance of Zion*, by Geoffrey Wheatcroft. Zionism was brave, idealistic, and riven, especially in its early years, by great arguments about how society should be ordered. Agrarian, socialist, authoritarian and religious schools contended. Yet the moral vacuum at the heart of Zionism, the failure to face up to the fact that the dream could only be realised at the expense of another people, co-existed bizarrely, some would say obscenely, with the moral concerns about Jewish society.

Blair's shadow army

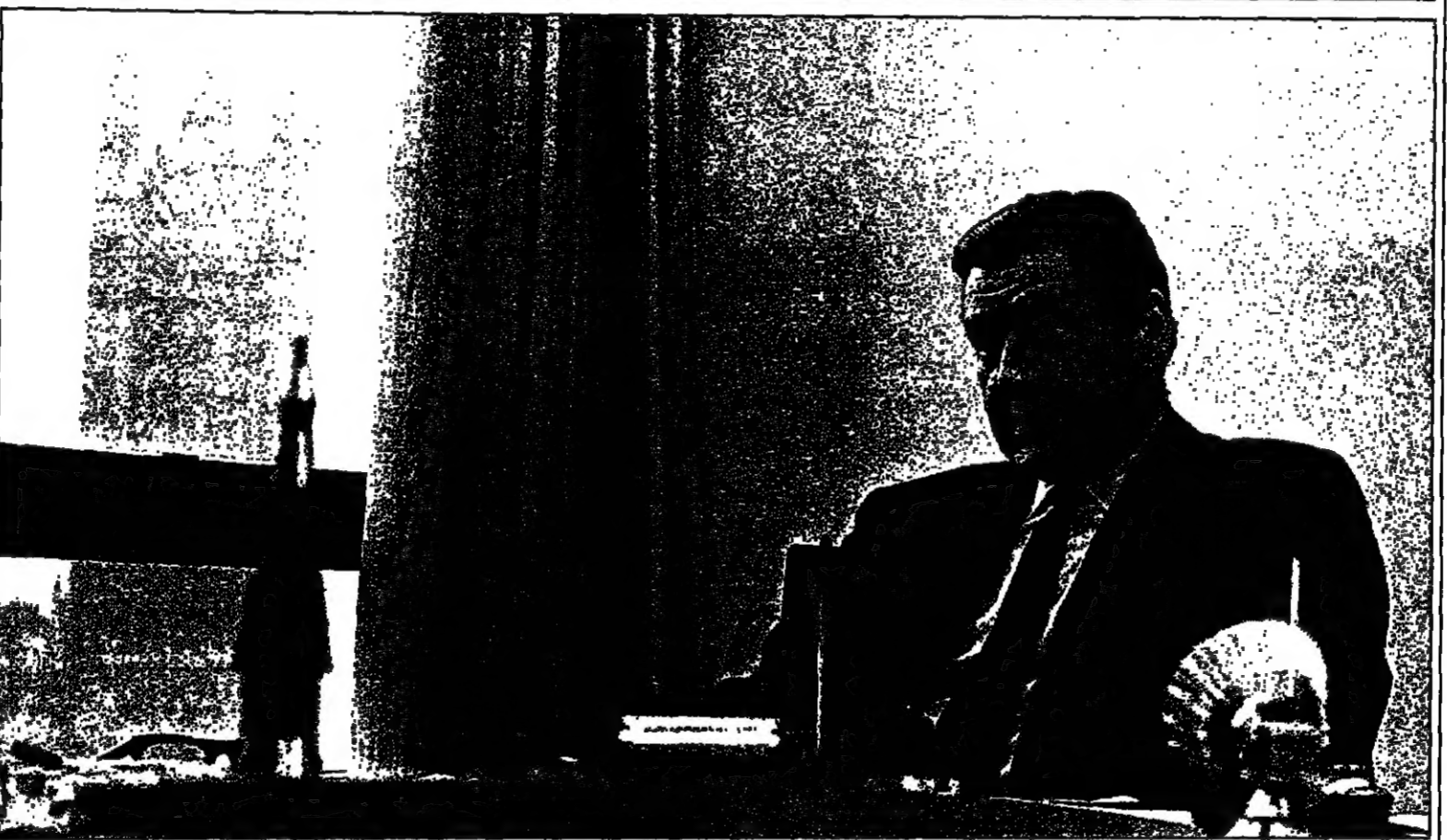


Martin Kettle

WHO are the Blairites? And, more important, where are they? Let me make this clear at once. I am not talking here about those 200 or so elite names who appear in "Who's Who in New Labour" surveys. The people I am thinking of are the rank-and-file Blairites, the hundreds, perhaps thousands, possibly even millions of people whose hearts race at the possibilities of the Blair government and who can be counted on to support it when the going gets tough.

ing and reinvigorating the culture of the progressive majority, deliberately taking it out beyond the boundaries of Labourism — and it strikes me therefore as worrying from a Blairite point of view that he is so disinclined in LibDem circles.

Tony Crosland wrote *The Future Of Socialism* in the autumn of 1956. But although 40 years is a long time in politics, Roy Hattersley believes the Labour leadership would do well to heed his comments in the week of the party conference



Mirror man... Tony Crosland, seemingly able to look forward 40 years to the 1996 Labour conference as he searches for socialism's future

Back to the future

THE Future Of Socialism was published in the autumn of 1956. Its impact on the political debate was instant and dramatic. At last there was a coherent and comprehensive theory of modern democratic socialism. Tony Crosland had constructed the ethical framework on which individual policy decisions could be built. The arguments have worn well.

the poorest 10 per cent have fallen by 18 per cent. Both absolute poverty and relative inequality have increased. Fourteen million people now live below the official poverty line and, according to a World Bank-OECD survey, one parent in five and one child in 10 goes hungry at least one day in the month because there is no money for food.

ments as he was of the principle. The Hayek argument that redistribution was theft, he dismissed as "trivialous". The fear that it might cost votes, he regarded as "qualitative".

NEW Labour should have no difficulty in accepting that argument. The study which proves that equality works was edited by David Blenden. Nobody doubts that the answer is clear enough now. During the last 17 years they have not lost, but gained.

unemployed. Today — even though the method of calculation has been changed in order to reduce the total — the figure has risen to 7.5 per cent. If the feeling of common purpose and mutual respect was necessary for the peace and tranquillity of a society which had "never had it so good", it must be an essential aspiration now that young men leave school at 16 and, after years of enforced idleness, decide that life has nothing to offer them except canned lager, graffiti and car crime.

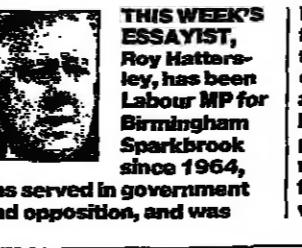
to prejudices, he did not fear that the end of selection would reduce standards. Indeed, he rightly took it for granted that the properly organised comprehensive education would improve them. His passion for improvements is, with one amendment, reflected in the speeches of today's Labour leadership.

700 wounded 50 dead

You've seen the TV reports showing the violent clashes between the Palestinians and Israelis. Over 700 Palestinian people have been wounded and 50 shot dead.

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h on hota



has served in government and opposition, and was

THIS WEEK'S ESSAYIST, Roy Hattersley, has been Labour MP for Birmingham Sparkbrook since 1964, and was

Deputy Leader of the party from 1983-92. He returns at the election. His books include *A Yorkshire Boyhood* and *In That Quiet Earth*, and his journalism ranges from political analysis to TV reviews. He writes regularly for the Guardian, including a weekly *Endpiece* column.

No easy cure for a society at war

GERMAN workers took to the streets this week in protest at the government's legislation to cut sick pay levels by a fifth.

On Thursday 1000 employees at the Mercedes plant in Untertürkheim, near Stuttgart, downed tools at Daimler-Benz's decision to cut sick pay from the current 100 per cent for six weeks to 80 per cent from next Tuesday.

Germany's biggest union, IG Metall, is already talking up a "hot autumn" of protest in plants and federal-wide demonstrations.

According to a senior IG Metall official: "The employers are escalating things politically on the back of this new law and seeking new areas of conflict. There are already four million jobless in Ger-

many and there will be more as further rationalisation is planned."

Such an apocalyptic vision is not quite shared at Gesamtmetall, the engineering employers' body, but officials are determined to slash wage-costs. "This time we must see it through. Firms cannot complain about ever-higher costs, the highest unit labour costs in Europe, and when they have the chance to do something about it, pass it up. It's a question of credibility for employers as a whole."

The issue has raised complicated legal and constitutional questions, generated a modulated response from unions and employers, and a desperate search for consensus and compromise among political leaders. In engineering and chemicals, most firms — Daimler and Siemens



Voting with their feet: Mercedes Benz workers from Metzingen near Stuttgart protest against government benefit cuts

BASF and Bayer — have unilaterally imposed the sick pay cut. But a handful — Volkswagen and Veba, for instance — will not.

Similarly, the traditionally less militant chemicals union, IG Chemie, has opted to eschew "political" protests and has arranged top-level negotiations next month.

In engineering, where

he added. But even Walter Riester, the union's deputy leader, has acknowledged that too many days in German industry are lost through "sickness". In engineering and chemicals they amount to around 6 per cent of working time and cost DM60 billion (£25 billion) a year — driving investments and jobs out of Germany.

But IG Metall says the savings to be made are minimal and labour costs in, say, a new-model Opel plant, are only 15 per cent of the total. But the employers say that, even at a 1 per cent saving in labour costs, the new measure is essential in a year when 120,000 engineering jobs will go because they are uncompetitively expensive.

The cut in sick-pay is the first stage of Kohl's related campaign to rid Germans of what he calls their "leisure-park" mentality and drive down costs.

But the outcome of the struggle will help determine a wider battle over the post-war German model (the Sozialstaat).

If government and employ-

'Cutting sick pay stirs up poverty', say the banners as car workers take to the streets, reflecting Germany's increasingly volatile industrial scene. **David Gow** reports on the conflict between social responsibility and effective competition

American brewer calls time on its talks over a beer

Joe Cook in Prague

THIS week's decision by America's Anheuser-Busch, the world's biggest brewer, to break off talks with the Czech government over the use of the Budweiser name in Europe has given British brewing company Bass the opportunity to strengthen its position in the Czech beer industry.

Bass is the only foreign brewer to have gained the trust of the fiercely proud Czech beer industry. Since 1994 it has invested £70 million in the acquisition and development of three Czech breweries, including Prague's

Praze Pivovary, the country's third biggest. In July it moved closer to its aim of capturing 35 per cent of the domestic beer market by taking a 20 per cent stake in a fourth brewer, Radegast, the country's second biggest beer maker.

Bass's fellow shareholders at Radegast include several domestic investment funds which also own other breweries. Through these shareholder relationships Bass may get a hand on the country's king of beers — Budvar, more widely known by its German name, Budweiser.

Budvar is made by a small, state-owned brewery in South Bohemia called Budejovicky

Budvar. For decades this firm has been locked in a David and Goliath legal battle with the mighty Anheuser-Busch for the right to use the Budweiser name.

Deals struck in 1911 and 1939 gave the Czechs the right to sell their beer as Budweiser in Europe. The Americans can use the name in every other continent. The battle resumed in the 1970s and 1980s as Anheuser-Busch took legal action in individual European countries and launched its beer in Europe as Bud. In the wake of the 1988 collapse of communism, the warring parties agreed on a legal moratorium and resumed trademark talks.

That moratorium collapsed this week with Anheuser-Busch effectively throwing down the legal gauntlet to the Czechs. "It's as if the Americans have said: 'let's start selling in Europe and let them take us to court,'" said an industry insider in Prague.

It may be the private sector which has to respond to the legal challenge. Agriculture minister Josef Lux this week pledged to prepare the small brewer for privatisation by the year's end. He made it clear that the brewer would be sold to locals: "We think that Budvar does not necessarily need a foreign partner."

The leading candidate is Ji-

hoeske Pivovary, a brewery based in the same town as Budvar. This firm is controlled by local investment funds, and therein lies the key for Bass.

"Bass has expressed interest in both Budvar and Jihoeske," said Mervyn Childs, Bass's widely respected country director in the Czech Republic. Bass has held talks with the government and Jihoeske's shareholders, many of which are Bass's co-owners of Radegast. The betting in Prague is that Jihoeske — and the investment funds that own it — will get the Budvar brewer and that the Czech government will retain a "golden share". "But at a

later date that company [Jihoeske] may sell," said Mr Childs.

An alternative for Bass could be through a marketing and distribution tie-up.

Bass will have rivals. Denmark's Carlsberg and Holland's Heineken are hovering over the Czech beer industry.

In the meantime, Budejovicky Budvar's casually resigned managers have unleashed a verbal broadside against Anheuser-Busch.

"Budvar beer has been made since long before Columbus discovered America," says Budvar's managing director, Jiri Bocek. "We will not succumb to the pressure of this giant."

Capitalist Russia set for growth

Alex Brummer reports from Washington on a new analysis by staff of the IMF

WHEN the countries of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — including Russia — finally emerge from the transition to capitalism they could achieve growth levels on a par with much of the rest of the developing world, according to the International Monetary Fund.

A new analysis by IMF staff, released at the annual meetings here, suggests that once reforms are in place the countries concerned have the potential for long term growth rates of between four and five per cent per annum — far higher than that being achieved by their counterparts in the European Union.

Inevitably, the closest focus in Washington is on Russia and the need to maintain the impetus there on the reform process despite the current infirmity of President Boris Yeltsin.

At a series of bilateral meetings here and in a special meeting with the G7 today Russia will be urged to go beyond the fiscal and monetary disciplines imposed on it by the IMF — in exchange for more than \$10.2 billion (£6.5 billion) of credits — and focus on other structural issues, including reform of capital markets.

In macroeconomic terms, the IMF staff believe that, barring unexpected setbacks, the dramatic drop in Russia's output over the past five years could come to an end in 1997.

This year the IMF is forecasting that output will be only marginally down, by 0.6 per cent, against the 4 per cent decline in 1995 and the calamitous 15 per cent reduction in output in 1994. However, given that the reform process continues, the IMF believes 1997 will see Russia returning to growth.

The IMF staff hold up

Poland as the best example of what can be achieved, with a growth rate this year of 5.5 per cent, following two previous years of robust expansion.

This means Poland is now growing at levels above those seen when it was a centrally-planned economy.

Using a model developed by the IMF's deputy managing director, Stanley Fischer, the staff believe that Russia has now been through the necessary changes to move into a growth pattern.

Inflation has been brought down this year to 23 per cent (in the first eight months) against 190 per cent in 1995. As long as downward pressure is kept on the budget deficit through improved tax collections, it is expected that growth can be established.

In the view of the IMF staff, the experience across the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over the past five years suggests a number of important lessons.

First, the reduction of inflation from high levels is critical for halting and then reversing the decline in output which follows the reform process.

Second, growth is unlikely to resume unless there is substantial progress on reform in a variety of areas from the banking system to privatisation.

Finally, the enterprise culture has to be changed, even if this means that there are high levels of transitional unemployment.

In the IMF's view, unemployment can be dealt with provided the reforming economies adopt greater flexibility in the labour market and establish retraining schemes for displaced workers focused on the faster growing sectors of the economy.

All of this has to be accompanied by social safety nets in order to lessen the hardship associated with the transition.

But if all this is done, then, in the IMF's view, the lagards in the former Soviet empire could begin to catch up with those like Poland and the Czech Republic which have been powering ahead as free market economies.

Olivetti soothes critics

OLIVETTI the computer and office equipment company which has come under fire from foreign investors, yesterday offered its critics a seat on the board, writes **John Glover in Milan**.

The investors, led by Barings Asset Management, have put forward Dario Trevisan, a Milan-based lawyer, as their representative, according to the Bloomberg news service.

"You only need one person

that everyone is happy with and trusts will make the right judgment to act as an eye on the board. It would be reassuring, especially for foreign investors," said Taki Shakerchi, of Hampshire-based Old Mutual Portfolio Managers, another large investor.

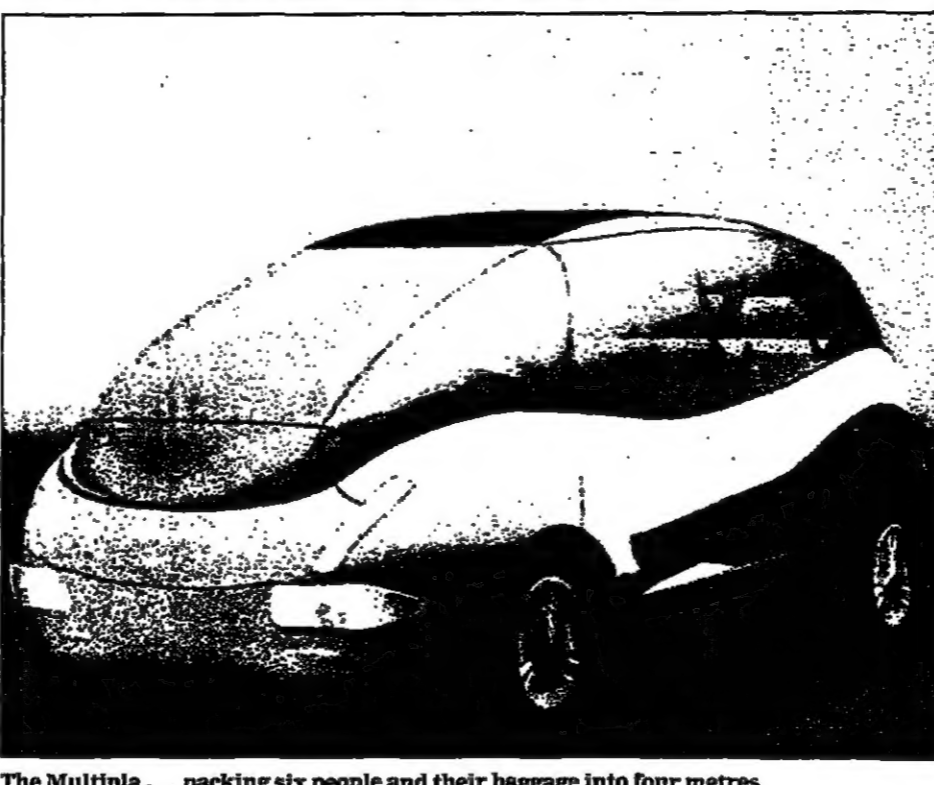
Pressure from British-based institutions angered by Olivetti's string of bad results helped engineer the boardroom coup on September 3,

which saw the resignation of long-standing chairman Carlo De Benedetti.

The chief of Olivetti Personal Computers, the subsidiary blamed for the company's huge losses over the past five years, said yesterday that OPC would close the year "near to break-even".

Olivetti's share price has collapsed over the past month amid accusations that the true extent of its problems was understated in the preliminary half-yearly results on September 3. The full interim report will be published on Monday and is expected to explain how the management arrived at the figures.

Meanwhile, shares in Mr De Benedetti's holding company, CIR, surged as it appeared nearer to finding a buyer for its indirectly held controlling stake in Valeo, a large French car components maker. CGIP, a French holding company, said it planned to bid for Valeo.



The Multipia... packing six people and their baggage into four metres

Fiat takes one small step into space age — two years early

John Glover

AHEAD of next week's Paris car show and two years before its planned launch in 1998, Fiat this week presented its radically styled Multipia.

Four metres long — about the length of a mid-range saloon — the Multipia is a shrunken version of "people carriers" such as the Renault Espace. Inside, it is surprisingly roomy, with two rows of three seats each and, the company claims, nearly double the baggage space of more conventional designs.

The company is vague about why it is presenting the vehicle two years before launch. It may be to give the public time to become accustomed to a vehicle that resembles a turn-of-the-century saloon crossed with a Jeep.

The Multipia is constructed around a "space frame", a technique normally used on low-volume sports cars. It avoids heavy investment in expensive presses but becomes uneconomical above certain volumes. Fiat claims it can make 45,000 Multipias a year profitably, thanks to new technology.



'It was the political analysis (mine, not Callaghan's) that was wrong'

Peter Jay

Tomorrow, J K Galbraith and Peter Jay pick over the bones of twenty years of economic failure

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Eurocats

Update

- Daimler-Benz Aerospace (Dasa) confirmed that it is interested in acquiring Bremer Vulkan defence electronics unit STN Atlas Elektronik. British Aerospace and France's Thomson-CSF have also been linked with STN.
- A record 12.6 per cent of French workers were looking for jobs in August, the government said yesterday. France has the highest unemployment of the Group of Seven industrialised countries.
- Dutch bank ABN-Amro is continuing its search to buy a US fund management company. Managing board member Rijnhard van Tets said this week that the bank was prepared to pay

between \$200 million and \$400 million to bolster its position in the US pension fund market.

- Mobistar, a consortium headed by France Telecom which operates Belgium's second mobile phone network, said it has signed up almost 10,000 subscribers just a month after starting.
- General Motors opened a new £100 million motor parts assembly plant close to Hungary's border with Austria yesterday, pushing its total investment in the country above £300 million, according to state news agency MTI.

European Business is edited by Mark Milner

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Finance ministers plan global regulation network in the wake of Barings and Sumitomo scandals

G7 tackles market turmoil

Alex Brummer
in Washington

FINANCE ministers from the G7 club of industrial countries will today launch a series of initiatives designed to reduce risk and turbulence on the global financial markets.

The main ideas, proposed by US Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, is designed to improve global cooperation in the wake of a series of private-sector crises on the financial markets stemming from the Barings collapse of 1995 to the losses at Daiwa Bank and Sumitomo.

The G7 meeting will be

attended by finance ministers and central bankers from the US, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, the UK and Canada, with Chancellor Kenneth Clarke and Bank of England governor Eddie George leading the British team.

The US believes that with many of the IMF/World Bank reform issues behind it, the G7 can now deal more thoroughly with the turbulence that has accompanied the rise of global financial trading and the use of derivatives.

Mr Rubin will propose a series of steps including "improved co-operation among regulators and supervisors, stronger requirements for transparency and risk man-

agement in derivatives transactions, and stronger financial systems in emerging markets".

Mr Rubin said he would also use the occasion to assure the US's trading partners that a victory by President Clinton in November's elections would not change the Democratic administration's position on the US budget deficit.

The next administration in Washington would be just as

committed to keeping down-ward pressure on the deficit, and any tax cuts proposed in the campaign would be offset by cuts.

There has been some concern among the US's partners that the focus in the Republicans' presidential campaigning on tax reductions could lead to a return of the large-scale deficits seen during the Reagan/Bush era, undermining the stability and low inflation in the world economy.

Despite a worsening US balance of payments position, the G7 is expected to underpin its belief in the strong dollar, which has emerged since its statement in spring 1995 and the subsequent co-ordinated intervention on the foreign exchange markets.

Mr Clarke, who flew to Washington last night from the Commonwealth finance ministers' meeting in Bermuda, will find himself plunged back into the debate about European monetary union. The Americans, who will chair the G7, are anxious to be briefed about the latest developments on EMU.

There is a worry in Washington that the draconian

budgetary requirements of EMU, together with the prospective toughness of the stability pact, could have a detrimental impact on global growth. Senior US officials believe further interest rate cuts may be necessary in Europe to offset the impact of fiscal austerity.

The US is also closely watching the pace of the Japanese recovery. On the eve of the G7, the US Treasury made no secret of its belief that the Japanese need to take steps to ensure that recovery is sustained. "In Japan, it's important that they continue to direct policies at the objective of promoting a strong domestic, demand-led recovery," Mr Rubin said.

IMF Notebook

Old order faces up to new reality



Alex Brummer

A HUGE shift is taking place in the international economic order. Behind the obscurities of debt plans, capital increases, borrowing arrangements and sustainable development that dominate annual meetings of the IMF and World Bank there is a recognition that the richer countries can no longer go it alone.

The G7 countries may, just about, still be able to direct the foreign exchange market on the appropriate value of the dollar but they can no longer treat the Bretton Woods institutions as their fiefdom. Even the Americans have come to recognise this.

Speaking in Washington this week US Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin drew attention to the growing economic power represented by the emerging markets. He noted that the developing countries of Asia now account for some 23 per cent of world output and Latin America has been transformed into the second-fastest-growing economic region in the world. The US can no longer embark on any global financial exercise without a measure of consent from the developing countries. The G7 countries no longer grow fast enough or have enough independent resources to pursue any big initiatives on their own.

— a serious situation should, for instance, one of the heavily indebted countries of the Pacific (Thailand is often mentioned) run into difficulties. The immediate response has been to increase the Fund's capacity to borrow through the General Arrangements to Borrow.

The 10 largest industrial countries were unable to come up with the cash on their own, so they have broadened the group of potential lenders to include prosperous industrial countries such as Austria and Australia as well as emerging market nations like Saudi Arabia, South Korea and Singapore. In return, these countries, whose growing importance has been recognised already at the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, are being granted a bigger global voice through a new group, the New Arrangements to Borrow. Much of the debate about the new borrowing facilities has been about giving the newcomers as much say as possible on how the credits are distributed.

A MORE fundamental change in the economic order could occur if and when the IMF receives a long-overdue capital increase. Mr Camdessus has said that he would like to see the Fund's capital of five billion dollars. (Although an increase of two-thirds is considered more realistic.) The capital increase will also provide an opportunity to take note of the changing economic order.

Since the last increase, in 1988, the global economy has changed dramatically: the end of the cold war, the rise of Pacific Basin countries, dramatic changes in Latin America and the emergence of China as a global economic force. None of these changes is properly recognised in the IMF's capital structure.

As part of the exercise, the larger newcomers will receive quotas — the IMF's equivalent of shares and votes — through a complex formula based on their gross domestic product and role in the global economy. This redistribution is thought unlikely to affect the big five at the IMF — the US, Japan, Germany and France and Britain.

However, the sheer size of the Chinese economy, the importance of Russia despite its shrinking output and the wealth of some of the Pacific countries inevitably mean that below the big four there will be some drastic shifts. The broadening of decision-making being seen in Basle and in the arrangements to borrow will also be reflected within the IMF.

The real victims of this change may turn out to be the G7 — and Britain in particular. The G7 is starting to look down. The IMF needs the cash it is facing strains in the run-up to European monetary union. Once a leading group of European countries, including Germany and France, have joined EMU, lesser members of the G7 — Britain, Italy and Canada — could rapidly become second-class players on the international stage. Whereas the US, Japan and the Euro-bloc countries will be able to speak with one voice on critical issues, such as currency alignments, the outsiders could come to be seen as irrelevant.

This possibility has begun to trouble senior UK monetary officials. Britain's influence could be squeezed by rising emerging markets on one side and the monetary power big three (the US, Japan and EMU countries) on the other.

TAKE the debt plan. At the old IMF/World Bank, any proposal to write down the debt of poor countries would have provoked howls about the danger of moral hazard, that it would encourage any country with debts not to pay up. But in the spirit of partnership which the G7 is now seeking to foster between North and South, such reservations have vanished. Behind the headlines about disputes over gold sales there is a recognition that debt forgiveness will allow improved delivery of health care, education and clean water to countries like Uganda.

It is also clear that the western democracies can no longer provide greater resources to the IMF on their own. That the IMF needs the cash is indisputable. Record-setting rescue packages for Mexico, Russia, Ukraine and others have drained the Fund.

British Gas in duff bills crisis talks

Chris Barrie
Business Correspondent

BRITISH Gas was locked in crisis talks with computer and telecoms experts last night as it emerged that thousands of customers are being threatened with disconnection without having an opportunity to pay their bills.

As the computer company ICL and independent telecoms consultants joined British Gas in trying to correct the embattled energy company's £150 million billing system, the Gas Consumers' Council warned that thousands of people could expect a red bill or a disconnection warning before the standard bill which gives details of gas consumed.

Similarly, customers are being sent estimated bills when bills should have been based on meter readings.

British Gas, bowing to pressure from the consumers' council last night to suspend disconnections for October.

Some customers accused the company of wrongly disconnecting them in the chaos.

Consumers' council director Ian Rowe accused the company of being "guilty of serious errors of judgement".

Voicing concern that customers could be frightened by the disconnection threats, he said that the situation had been made much worse by the

company's aggressive job cutting. He said: "British Gas's computer system has a mind of its own and no one knows what it is doing."

British Gas admitted that it did not know how many customers had been affected, but the consumers' council puts the tally at 12,000 in eastern England, and thousands more in the north. Doncaster was pinpointed as a trouble spot.

British Gas denied that the problem had been made worse by staff cuts.

The company claims to employ 2,400 more people than are theoretically needed.

British Gas blamed problems with its new national computer system which replaces 60 regional systems. The company said the government-imposed timetable for the introduction of competition had left it with just 18 months to install the new system.

The equipment was supplied by ICL, but British Gas uses its own software. There is no suggestion that ICL is to blame for the problem.

Apologising to customers, BG Trading assured customers that there were several steps before disconnection could take place.

However, the company also asked customers not to contact it unless they had a particular problem.

The group has been struggling to deal with customer complaints.



Blues slip into the red

Ian King

CHELSEA Village, the company that the Premier League football club, has slipped into the red, running up full-year pre-tax losses of £2.3 million, against a £1.5 million profit the previous year.

However, announcing the loss, Ken Bates, Chelsea's chairman, insisted the figure did not reflect the group's "true performance" during the year. Describing the loss as "in line with expectations", Mr Bates said it reflected spending on Chelsea's Stamford Bridge home in west London, which is being turned into a hotel,

shopping and leisure complex.

Mr Bates said the year had been one of considerable change for Chelsea, which floated on AIM in April, and the results reflected the transition from being a football club to a leisure and entertainment group.

"One should be circumspect in comparing the 1995/96 figures with those of the previous year, given development expenditure," he said. "We will continue to invest heavily in the current year and the benefits are expected from 1997/98 onwards — the future is exciting."

Mr Bates said that following the redevelopment of Stamford Bridge, Chelsea's

dependence on gate revenue would be reduced, with merchandise also producing a greater share of profits.

Chelsea should enjoy a five-fold increase in its TV income over the next four years, following the Premier League's new contract with BSkyB, but he warned that increased player costs would swallow some of this.

On the playing side Mr Bates highlighted Chelsea's youth policy, which he said had produced the club's best crop of home-grown talent for the past two decades.

Transfer spending by Chelsea more than doubled to £2.6 million during the year. Chelsea shares closed 2p lower at 83½p on the figures.

MARKS & Spencer yesterday kicked off an attempt to cash in on the bonanza in sales of football kit when it paraded a new Premier League outfit, modelled by Newcastle United players led by Peter Beardsley, above.

The range includes sweatshirts, underwear and boot bags as well as playing kit, and has been endorsed by the FA Premier League in an exclusive five-year contract.

"The M & S range will be much cheaper than club replica kits which have yielded huge revenues for top clubs. Mr Fee said an adult M & S football shirt would sell at £20, about half the price of a typical club shirt, but insisted they were not meant to compete with club products.

PHOTOGRAPH: RAOUF DODON

DTI plans to take months to talk about hours

Richard Thomas

uncovers plans should Britain lose in the courts

THE Government is preparing to stall legislation on a 48-hour maximum working week by declaring a lengthy period of negotiation with industry.

Officials at the Department of Trade and Industry have completed the first draft of a detailed consultation paper, which will be published in the wake of a decision, pending in the European Court of Justice, against the UK. A judgment is expected in a few weeks.

With most ministers fiercely opposed to any intervention on working hours from Europe one Whitehall official said the paper was designed to delay Government action.

"The idea is to put this paper out as soon as the judgment is announced — assuming that it goes against the Government," he said.

"This will give the impression of activity, while actually kicking the issue in to the long grass until after the election. And by then of course, it could be someone else's problem."

Britain is already under fire for its resistance to European social legislation, with the EU social affairs commissioner Padraig Flynn earlier this week criticising

John Major's administration for constantly exaggerating the significance of common sense initiatives to protect workers.

But with the fragile Conservative truce over Europe already under strain, ministers are reluctant to concede any ground on the 48-hour working week issue which has been seized on by Eurosceptic backbenchers as a symbol of interference from Brussels.

The official says: "This judgment is a bomb waiting to go off — and ministers have determined to defuse it quickly."

ALTHOUGH the European Court of Justice has given no public indication of the likely outcome of its deliberation, high ranking EU officials expect Britain to lose the case.

Although Britain has opted out of the European Social Chapter, the 48-hour rule has been issued as a health and safety initiative — which the Government argues is social legislation by the back door.

A DTI spokeswoman said a number of issues would be addressed during the consultation period, if the complaint is thrown out. She said that the draft paper had not yet been seen by the responsible minister, John Taylor, but that it should be virtually complete when the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg delivered a ruling.

African countries 'should be privatised'

Oxfam attacks institute's 'silly' vision of firms running the state, writes Sarah Ryle

CECIL Rhodes, the man who bought up a chunk of Africa larger than France, Britain and Belgium combined, would have recognised a modern solution to mass poverty and military dictatorships on the continent put forward today by a think-tank.

Accusing international aid organisations of falling to improve economic conditions in Africa, the Institute of Economic Affairs suggests the ultimate in privatisations — selling off whole countries.

Visions of Mozambique Inc. are conjured by Robert Whe-

lan's article in the IEA's latest journal as he argues that corporate take-overs are the best option for countries unable to win foreign direct investment in any other way.

He proposes that multinational companies should be given the right to run whole countries. Companies would have to tender for leases of up to 21 years, pledging specific services in return for pre-set tax revenue.

Mr Whelan says: "Foreign aid has created too many wealthy dictators for us to have any very high expectations of what can be achieved

by making cash grants to Africa. The only answer would be the idea of transferring billions of dollars' worth of assets from rich countries to poor countries which have seemed 100 years ago. Given the failure of every other approach in Africa, it might at least be worth a try."

But an Oxfam Africa ex-

port, Kevin Watkins, dismissed the proposal as "silly".

He said: "If they knew their history, they would know that this has been tried before. There was the East India Company, the Royal Africa Company and more recently Lever, which ran part of West Africa as a merchant company."

"In many cases, the home governments had to send out large armies to get the companies out of sticky situations.

"Companies are there to maximise profit for their shareholders, not maximise the public good. Many companies already have huge influence over governments anyway and probably prefer to act behind the scenes."

In remake of the World at War, TV rival knives 'Adolf Murdoch'

Mark Treen in New York

TED TURNER, the cable television magnate, has added his inimitable twist to the public feud between Time Warner and News Corp by comparing Rupert Murdoch to Adolf Hitler.

In off-the-cuff remarks to journalists, Mr Turner accused the head of News Corp of using his media properties as business weapons. Mr Turner likened Mr Murdoch to the "late Führer".

This is not the first time Mr Turner, nicknamed the Mouth of the South, has needed the powerful Mr Murdoch. When News Corp announced plans for a 24-hour news channel to compete with CNN, Mr Turner said that his news network would "squish Murdoch like a bug".

Mr Turner's latest comments came as he and Time Warner chairman Gerald Levin began to promote Time Warner's \$6.5 billion acquisi-



Turner: switches off charm

tion of Turner Broadcasting Systems to investors.

News Corp has accused Time Warner of going back on a commitment to carry Mr Murdoch's news channel in favour of another all-news cable network, MSNBC, run by Microsoft and NBC.

News Corp has threatened legal action against Time Warner and is preparing comments to file to the Federal Trade Commission, which recently approved the Time Warner-Turner deal.

Mr Murdoch responded to the Turner outburst: "I believe what Joseph Kennedy said: 'Don't get mad. Get even.'"

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Financial Editor: Alex Brummer
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In the first of a series, PATRICK DONOVAN looks at the revamped Square Mile

Out of control in the City



BIG BANG 10 years on

HEY piled on the champagne: the jazz band played the blues. And actors in fancy dress did their best to recreate the clubby intrigue of the old Stock Exchange: that eccentric market which helped make the Square Mile the centre of the financial universe and where a chap could be publicly debagged for wearing the wrong colour shoes.

But for all the bottles of Joutet Ferrier, the small talk and the forced jollity, this

week's official party to celebrate the tenth anniversary of what was known as "Big Bang" never got near to evoking the atmosphere of a world which 10 years ago disappeared for ever.

With the benefit of hindsight, this apparently technical restructuring of the London financial markets marked a milestone in the socio-economic history of post-war Britain. For it was the changes wrought by Big Bang that helped spawn the yuppie, the megabuck salaries and the ruthless hire-and-fire ethos where sacked employees are given five minutes to empty their desk into a bin liner and then ejected from the building.

It has also helped sustain London's role as the main European staging post for the 24-hour global markets; taking up the baton from Tokyo at 7.30am and passing it on to New York when the last City share traded at 4.30pm.

In the process, financial services in all their myriad forms have become the biggest single wealth-creating business sector in Britain and now account for as much as a fifth of the country's entire gross domestic product.

Such are the rewards that the City has become the career of choice for many of the country's best talents. According to a recent survey, Oxbridge graduates now view merchant banking and the desk-bound occupation of bond-trading as more attrac-

tive than television, the BBC or the Foreign Office.

Consider why twenty-something dealers shouting orders in a City dealing room are now more economically important than factory workers employed in the country's entire heavy industrial base and you begin to understand the huge significance of the Big Bang revolution, which began on Monday 27 October, 1986.

The reforms appeared to be technical, boring even. And in 1986 they created little public attention beyond widespread gloating that the City had been forced to give up its gentlemanly working hours because trading had been brought forward one and a half hours for a 7.30am start.

But for the City the shake-up was radical. For the first time in more than two centuries, shares were no longer bought and sold on the traditional trading floor — the iconic venue for this week's Stock Exchange Big Bang party. Out went the "dual capacity" share dealing method, whereby brokers would execute a client's order by negotiating for the best deal with jobbers, the "wholesalers" of shares who lined the Stock Exchange floor. Out went the cosy system of fixed commissions, which provided the market with such a lucrative income.

In its place, the Square Mile was for the first time subjected to the full brunt of international competition. In came a free-for-all "single capacity" system. Instead of a trading floor, traders now dealt through computer screens. In this "virtual stock market", it was the new breed of "market makers" who now became the engine room of the market, competing between themselves to flash up the most competitive share prices on dealing room screens throughout the City.

Most significant of all, perhaps, Big Bang also scrapped all restrictions on ownership of City firms by overseas institutions, underwriting the City's pre-eminent status as the main European trading centre by ensuring that virtually every major international institution built up a presence in the Square Mile.

But Big Bang was just as



much a political as a financial revolution. The roots of the reform lie in Margaret Thatcher's distrust of the patrician City establishment. Not only did she feel a political imperative to stamp her mark on this community. She also needed to soften it up for the radical reforms of privatisation: the transformation of Britain into her much-vaunted vision of shareholder democracy.

Her determination to build up wider share ownership was arguably just as important a political motive behind Big Bang as the need to reshape the City for the challenge of competing in the global equity markets. Having taken on the Establishment, this assault on the City was an important part of her drive to stamp her mark on the rentier classes.

Into the fray she sent her former Trade and Industry Secretary, Cecil Parkinson. It was a tough struggle bulldozing through the Square Mile's resistance to reform. But the benefit of 10-year hindsight shows that this move to break the City's cartel has led, ironi-

cally, to one of the biggest post-war redistributions of wealth. First, the partners of old jobbing and broking firms benefited by selling out their shares in the international auction for City firms which preceded Big Bang.

The best guess is that more

by no means the only factor. Over the past 10 years revenues have also been driven by innovation, with the Liffe market, options and derivatives and other exotic instruments building on London's traditional equity base. Factor in other trends, such as the growth of takeover bids, the relentless growth of the capital markets and, above all, the seemingly unstoppable

growth in share trading volumes and it is not hard to see why the City has become economically more important than the Government's entire spending budget.

Not that being regarded as a spent force at the age of 40 is a problem if you've got £1 million in the bank. So the social upheavals continue. Not only does the huge influx of City-related money tilt the economies of commutable areas out of kilter. But the tide of incoming high spenders has become a continuous process. No sooner has a big City player cashed in his chips than it's off to

Out with the old... and in with the new. The changing face of the Square Mile. PHOTOGRAPHS: CHRISTOPHER PLITZ (top) and JOHN STURROCK (left)

twenty-first century information replacement for the country's industrial heart, an ever escalating proportion of Britain's GDP is generated by fewer workers than the number of miners thrown out of work by the Government's coal privatisation programme a few years ago.

You have to look no further than the prime residential areas of London and the country house market to see how post-Big Bang salaries are changing society. Such is the huge pool of disposable income that prices of the most desirable property move quite independently of the rest of the market. Even at the height of the recession, the price of Home Counties spreads continued to climb on the back of surging City salaries. The same trend is evident in the Fine Art market, in everything from vintage cars to fishing rights on the River Test.

In essence, the past 10 years have created a burgeoning super-class, a disrupting and price-distorting impact on local communities because of the yawning wealth gap with the rest of the workforce. And this trend is accelerating. Such are the pressures and rewards for even mid-ranking City players that for many the productive working life is becoming ever shorter.

Not that being regarded as a spent force at the age of 40 is a problem if you've got £1 million in the bank.

So the social upheavals continue. Not only does the huge influx of City-related money tilt the economies of commutable areas out of kilter. But the tide of incoming high spenders has become a continuous process. No sooner has a big City player cashed in his chips than it's off to

buy up property in a more salubrious part of the country. On this tenth anniversary of Big Bang, the number to have personally benefited from the stock market casino is substantial enough to make a quantifiable impact on the fabric of the country.

The ultimate irony is that although Big Bang helped Britain build on its position as Europe's pre-eminent financial market, the reform has also seen the industry increasingly taken over by overseas interests.

Having thrown open the City to competition, big US and continental buyers have promptly swallowed up more than half the two dozen brokerage houses trading at the start of Big Bang.

Within the hallowed ranks of the City's merchant banks the trend has been even more pronounced, with just Hambros, NM Rothschild and Schroders retaining their independence.

In many ways what has been happening in the City mirrors the trends in manufacturing industry. Just as such names as Rowntree, Jaguar and Rover have disappeared from national ownership, so have some of the best-known names in the City: SG Warburg, Barings, Smith New Court, Hoare Govett.

That is why the Stock Exchange party was such a muted affair. The old City no longer exists and it remains to be seen how the Square Mile will fare in a market controlled increasingly by overseas players.

The uncertainties confronting London are even greater than they were in 1986. Who knows how the London market place will fare post-European Monetary Union or the advent of Internet-based "virtual" stock markets.

Mrs Thatcher's Big Bang succeeded in deregulating the City. But future governments have been left in danger of losing control of an increasingly pivotal section of the economy.

The roots of the reform lie in Mrs Thatcher's distrust of the patrician City establishment's power-play

Second, the increasing consolidation of financial services establishing themselves in London fuelled a skills shortage of internationally mobile players. The scene was thus set for a wages explosion which has persisted throughout the recession.

Add in bonuses and share options and you have a world where twenty-something graduates can easily command six-figure salaries.

Big Bang may have paved the way for the rise and fall of the Square Mile. But it was

Bygone age with odd mix of charm and conformity

THE culture of the old Stock Exchange was pitched somewhere between an Edington street market and the sixth form common room of an English public school. It was a stiffling strait-laced community, where barrow boys could come good as long as they did not try to rock the establishment boat or break the traditions which had governed the market for over 200 years.

In this sepia-tinted world, which disappeared exactly 10 years ago, the Government Broker would daily stride on to the trading floor, resplendent in his beaver-fur top hat. Stock-broking partners could still arrive for work at 10am and depart for the Remington a few hours later.

The tables were still packed for three-hour steak and claret lunches at traditional watering holes like Throgmorton street's Long Room or the George and Vulture.

It was above all an overwhelmingly male (gentle-

manly, they would call it) environment with a dress code which tolerated no departure from the uniform of pin-stripe suit, white shirt and polished black brogues.

The latter is one tradition which persists to this day: the wearing of brown shoes by men in the City would still be generally frowned upon throughout the Square Mile.

The term old boys' club could have been coined for this bygone order. While an upper second degree is virtually mandatory for em-

ployment in today's City, even in the eighties qualifications were still of subsidiary importance to the right school tie.

It was a tribal world of high jinks and practical jokes; where the entire market would do the conga on New Year's Eve or watch a fresh-faced new recruit be forcibly debagged for transgressing some unwritten rule of market etiquette.

And yet it still offered a place for eccentrics. It fostered a sense of community with its host of clubs and special interest societies. Ageing staff could generally count on an understanding niche where they could sit out until retirement. It was a market place which did not just assess an individual's place in terms of contribution to the bottom line.

Reforms were both necessary and inevitable. But the human factor has been largely lost in the turmoil of the dog-eat-dog market which has evolved after Big Bang.

Quick Crossword No. 8243

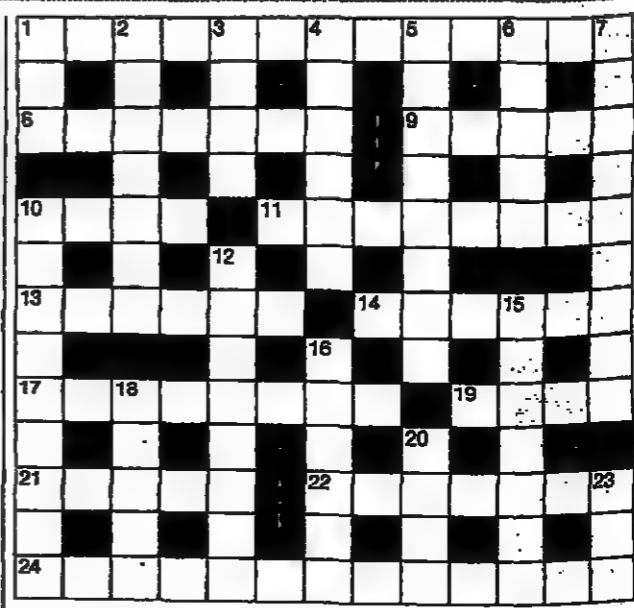
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HYPOCRISY
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P R O V I N C E T Y P E
K A G E A V
C L O U D N I N E
E P S Y

Solution No. 8242

- Across
- 1 Bug in the system (8,5)
- 8 Jawbone (7)
- 9 (For the) present moment (5)
- 10 Lose colour (4)
- 11 Prepared for sowing, failed (5)
- 13 Effect of collision etc (6)
- 14 Insignificant thing — sweet (5)
- 17 Place of treatment (6)
- 19 Type of exam (4)
- 21 Fabricate (5)
- 22 Copious (7)
- 24 Chiaroscuro (5,3,5)

- Down
- 1 Projection on shaft, or river (3)
- 2 Confused or ill-adjusted (5-2)

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- 3 Peppish (4)
- 4 Empower (5)
- 5 Front-line troops (6)
- 6 Cattle farm (5)
- 7 Small blue flower (Veronica) (5)
- 10 Appalling (5)
- 12 Mishap (5)
- 15 Term in chemistry, motor-racing, etc (7)

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ch, page 11
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Saturday September 28 1996

Page 13

The Guardian the week



Out of the darkness

Machiavelli, evil genius, arch moderniser, the leader's lap-dog, spin doctor? **Peter Mandelson** has been called a lot of nasty things in his time. But he puts a different spin on things himself. . .

I'M lucky I love what I do for the Labour Party. I'm proud of it and I certainly don't feel the need to "hide away in the dark". Despite the brickbats, the job I do is worth doing because it has one overriding purpose: to see Labour elected. It's even worth putting up with all the nonsense that's written and said about spin-doctors.

It's been claimed that I was the first person in British politics to be labelled a spin-doctor, stemming from my time between 1986 and 1990 as Labour's Director of Communications under Neil Kinnock. As the party's chief spokesperson, I dealt with press, radio and television. That is what I was paid to do.

Most readers will remember Labour's 1983 general election campaign. Ken Livingstone — fresh from his advertising spree at the GLC — described it as "the worst campaign of any major political party in a western democracy in the post war world." In 1987 we did it differently. Tony Benn, who says he was "Hugh Gaiskell's Peter Mandelson", described it as the best TV election campaign since his own in 1959. You could, then, perhaps describe Tony Benn as Britain's first spin-doctor. Were it not for Samuel

Pepys who was apparently paid 30 guineas to act as press handler for Charles II.

My own journey into minor mythdom began at the hands of the Tories. They were caught off guard by the revolution in Labour's communications that Neil Kinnock set in motion after the shambles in 1983. One account had it that "mention of Mandelson's team appears to cast a respectful terror in the hearts of Tory strategists, much as the name Rommel gained a mythical status among allied generals".

Labour's hard left, all too often willing to follow the Tory lead, jumped on this bandwagon. They started to complain that image was promoted over substance. Yet it was during the policy review of 1988/9, when Labour was updating its programme, that their objections to the professionalisation of our campaign were loudest.

The truth, of course, is that much of the ballyhoo about presentation was a smokescreen covering the real disagreements over policy. It's easier to heap abuse on the messenger than admit that you don't have a credible alternative to the message. Add all this attention to the tendency of the media to personalise politics, exaggerate and pin blame and you have a

ready recipe for absurd hyperbole.

So what's the truth behind the spin-doctor hype? Hilary Coffman has been a press officer for the last three Labour leaders. She recently warned Labour activists that, "next time you end up chatting while canvassing and have to explain Labour's approach or correct a misunderstanding, pause to think what you're doing. That's right — you've just become a spin-doctor". She is bang on.

Most shadow cabinet members have staff who deal with press. Tony Blair has three. The national Labour Party has 10. These people answer journalists' questions, arrange interviews, give clarification. One thing is for sure: no politician would put up with renegade operations and no journalist would "take such a person seriously. At the first whiff of a "spin-doctor" not genuinely speaking for their master, the journalists turn off.

Compared to the modest number of Labour press officers, the Conservative Party can rely on a burgeoning Central Office together with the abuse of the Government Information Service and a small army of Cabinet special advisers all of whom help get ministers' messages across in the media. Why, then, does the spot-

light tend to rest on Labour? Perhaps it's because Tories are expected to be professional: it's taken for granted that they will have their act together whereas Labour are just expected to be good-hearted amateurs. If that were the perception, it shows how much we needed to change.

Good communications do not get in the way of what we stand for. Their very purpose is the opposite: to put our principles and values up in lights, fighting a Tory Lie machine which outstaffs and outspends us most of the time.

Bear in mind that the media's coverage of politics has increased dramatically. The BBC's political HQ near the House of Commons has a staggering 188 staff. The corporation has requested 410 passes for our conference.

Last year, when Roy Hattersley attacked the party's education policy, David Blunkett undertook 24 interviews that day. He did them himself, but arrangements all had to be handled by Labour's staff — for the convenience of journalists. After all, politicians have other jobs to do apart, seemingly, from Tory cabinet ministers like Heseltine and Mawhinney.

In the midst of this media maelstrom there is a desperate search for news. That often page 14


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NATIONAL SAVINGS
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NATIONAL SAVINGS

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the week that was

Them on them

The global view

During the hundred days of grace, Benjamin Netanyahu succeeded in toppling almost completely the "new" Middle East of his predecessor Shimon Peres...

Whatever it's called, Jonathan's crime and punishment have people across the country buzzing. So many people have called directory assistance for South-western Elementary's telephone number...

Us on us

The British view

Diarmuid O'Neill was engaged in evil activities on behalf of the IRA. He was prepared to kill and presumably to be killed, in the name of Republicanism...

Diarmuid O'Neill... and his younger brother Shane had lived in the borough all their lives. A former neighbour said, "I can't understand it — they were such normal friendly and polite young men."



Claim for a laugh... Jack Lemmon and Walter Matthau in 'The Fortune Cookie' (1966)

metaphorically, of course, so they probably can't sue. First came the North Yorkshire detective Libby Ashurst, who received £165,000 from her former employer for sexual harassment...

to give him references, and more heartily still, a sister stare at him and abused him "in strong language". If only he'd realised that in Yorkshire, that's how they show they like you.

There was no apparent danger, however, of the members of the Derby Round Table, solicitors and company directors among them, hitting waitress Freda Burton and Sonia Khula when they were on duty at the Peninsula Hotel in Derby during a charity show...

week was Peter Hill, a Sunday soccer league star in Liverpool, who had the good luck to trip over a paving stone on an unfit pavement in 1992, a fall which put an end to his soccer career...

Pick up a pinta today and pray

This week last year September 22 1995

My mother received a phone call late in September last year. It was from a friend in India telling her that statues of the Hindu god Shiva and other members of his mythological family including the elephant god Ganesha, were drinking milk and that a miracle was about to take place...



A thirsty god. Portent of miracles to come?

By era she means the three years or periods in which a miracle occurs. When statues appeared to be drinking milk this was seen as a sign that something was going to happen, albeit sometime in the next 4,000 years.

made of porous materials and were able to absorb the milk. The Rationalist Association in India offered £2,000 to anyone who could convince its members that it was not a hoax.

Shri Ram Mandar in Southall. It was, he says, a particularly hectic day. "The temple is usually quite empty so it was great to see such large crowds. Donations did increase. We had one man who gave us nearly £2,000."

THE VERDICT RAPE TRIALS

Should rape complainants be allowed to give evidence behind a screen?

YES "Screens should be made available if witnesses want to use them. Where there is a case that the defendant should be able to see the person accusing them, CCTV should be used. This would at least allow the victim to be seen by the court but at some distance as many women find the ordeal of giving intimate details in front of an open court horrifying."

NO "The more we go out of our way to protect women by creating special protection in the law, the more we find people disbelieve women in court. They think we are being cuddled to the point where it is easy to lie. The more we hide what is going on, the more we are opening the door to abuses of the law. It is doubtful, in the long run, if women would feel helped by a measure like this."

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YES "It would be easier with a screen, or better still a TV link. It would be more removed, abstract. Because I could see him, I thought I could smell him, I didn't want to smell him again. I could smell him days later. His eyes were on me. I knew he could see me. He was daring me to say what he had done. I felt dirty, as if he was raping me again."

NO "Once you start avoiding the principal of accused facing accuser where do you draw the line? You can not let everyone who wishes to give evidence behind a screen do so. An accused person has the fundamental right to face their accuser."

Out of the darkness

4 page 13 means magnifying or manufacturing divisions, rows and splits. A silver of difference, perhaps wholly innocent, at 9am can become headline lunchtime news. Journalists, rightly, go round stirring the pot; the press officers' job is to try to bring things off the boil.

slogans and soundbites. "Hang on", she added, when the politician began his answer, "keep it short, we've only got 30 seconds on air." If the whole thing is that innocent, where does the talk of me as a Svengali come from? I like to think of my own case as something of an accident of history. It is true that in my previous role as Neil Kinnock's mouthpiece I seemed to have landed in the hard place between politicians who did not see eye to eye over the need to modernise our policies and structures. I found myself caught in the crossfire. It is annoying, but in a way gratifying, to note that the same old examples quoted in hostile write-ups are always from this period — almost a decade ago.



Winning smiles... but Labour's cheery leaders lost, despite the Mandelson image management

How Peter Mandelson put Labour in a spin

"Peter Mandelson appears to be in the paper far too often, seems to be on television far too often, seems to take himself, and be taken, far more seriously than I think is appropriate." Roy Hattersley

officials from Peter Mandelson's communications unit gave anonymous media briefings that it was time to bar Socialist Campaign Group MPs like myself from being candidates." Ken Livingstone

why I am a Labour moderniser and why I believe in change in the party. I have always been in Labour's mainstream and identified with the basic democratic socialist or social democratic values of the party — fairness, social justice, equality of opportunity. I believe in the power of people acting together through their government and local community to change things for the better. It's not an ideology steeped in Marxist rhetoric or deep red blood but it got this country the NHS, the welfare state and a lot else besides.



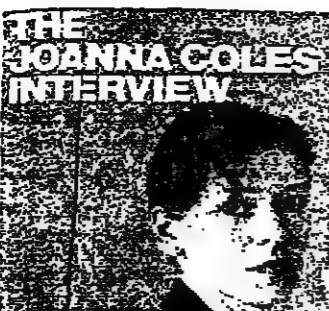
- 1. "As I was smashing Jimmy's hand, I realised I was quite enjoying it." Who was the thing? (a) Liam Gallagher (b) Eric Cantona (c) Cliff Richard
2. According to Trevor Nunn, "it's a word as disgusting as 'yid' or 'nigger'." What word?
3. "A real thinking man's babe." A Channel 5 emotive describing their new star presenter. Who is she? (a) Claudia Schiffer (b) Urtika Jonsson (c) Mariella Frostrup (d) Joan Bakewell4. Who revealed a few home truths at a book launch this week? (a) Gerry Adams (b) James Bligher (c) Harold Pinter5. Which eligible bachelor died the knot?
6. Who claimed that Germany was building a Fourth Reich?
7. Who survived a crash in his Range Rover? (a) James Hewitt (b) Jeremy Irons (c) Prince William8. Henry Kissinger makes his debut in an ad campaign on British TV next week? Who for? (a) Heineken (b) Guinness and Amigo (c) The Economist9. Inspector Morse's Christian name was finally revealed. What was it? (a) Eric (b) Endeavour (c) Endymion10. Who is he and what got his goat?
11. Who'll play Jack Stanton (aka Bill Clinton) in the movie of Primary Colors? (a) Clint Eastwood (b) Tom Hanks (c) John Travolta12. Who became disillusioned with John Major after 22 days? (a) Kenneth Clarke (b) Margaret Thatcher (c) Bill Cash13. Who said she was "free and available"? (a) Princess Diana (b) Princess Stephanie (c) The Duchess of York (d) Joan Bakewell14. Who held their party conference? (a) The Monster Having Loopy Party (b) The Liberal Democrats (c) The SNP15. Whose fans lobbied Radio 1? (a) Status Quo (b) Iron Maiden (c) Napalm Death (d) Markarian 421Answers on back page

مكتبة النور

Patron Saint of Lost Left Causes

Publicly dumped by Radio 3, Paul Gambaccini reveals he's been equally unlucky in love

Unhappy endings



THE JOANNA COLES INTERVIEW

PAUL Gambaccini is still in the studio finishing off his final show for Radio 3 when I arrive at his home in north London. Darren, his young blond assistant, shows me to a leather sofa in the drawing room.

Through the window I can see Maria, the young brunette gardener, primarily snipping shrubs and upsets someone is singing Give Me A Little More Love. This turns out to be Adam, one of Gambaccini's lodgers, who pirouettes into the room to explain he is an actor "in between shows".

It's not exactly D-Notice stuff to observe that Paul Gambaccini, now 71, is gay — he has never intended otherwise. And when I initially approached him some weeks ago for an interview, this was not my intended focus. I had wanted to talk about Radio 3 and his reaction to being so publicly dumped.

Not unreasonably, he didn't want to talk about the BBC until after his last show — yesterday morning. In the meantime, he referred me to a book he had just finished writing, about his relationships with seven men.

I picked it up reluctantly, but soon discovered I couldn't put it down. Astonishingly frank, *Love Letters* is both gripping and appalling in equal measure, portraying in him as a weak middle-aged lecher, obsessed with a queue of younger men who bask in his face, abuse his generosity, steal from him, and betray him sexually before dumping him.

Take Terry, for example, a shy manager who meets Gambaccini in a nightclub and steals £300 from him, not once but twice. Amazingly, Paul, clearly smitten, responds to this dishonesty by offering Terry a job as his personal assistant. I am musing on this bizarre decision when Gambaccini arrives and sits down right beside me. Hello, I cry, rather brashly, why on earth did you give Terry a job?

"Terry? Mmm," says Gambaccini, sitting his right knee up to his chin. "First, to quote Susan Sarandon in *Dead Man Walking*, 'We must not characterise someone by their worst act' — she's paraphrasing Christ of course." Of course.

"Second, I offered him the job because I knew he was HIV positive and progressing towards Aids. I realised there wouldn't be many employers who would be willing to hire someone whose attendance couldn't be predicted." (Too right it couldn't, as Gambaccini explains in the book. Terry often failed to turn up because of "overdoing it the night before".)

But why employ him? "Look," he explains, in his hairless Connecticut brogue, "I was blessed with certain aptitudes which enabled me to make a good living and to develop the self-discipline required to survive in the modern era. I viewed it as one of my responsibilities to help any loved ones who haven't quite found the key to success."

Love Letters is full of such ostentatious gestures. But at the risk of sounding cynical, they also appear as clumsy attempts to buy affection. Certainly, they nearly all end poignantly for Paul.

How's this for a run of bad choices? Stephen, a student whom Gambaccini adores, turns out to be not only violent but straight. George, with whom Gambaccini hopes to live happily-ever-after, turns out to have a secret life in Birmingham. And Chris Hamill, the lead singer of Kajagoogoo, whom Gambaccini encourages and houses, promptly pushes off when his royalties start rolling in.

"I thought Chris and I would be great chums forever," says Paul wistfully. "But of course I now realise he was one of those people who needed the security of an older friend to become secure himself. Having achieved it, he didn't need it from me."

"We're still pals," he says quickly. "I see him a couple of times a year, which might not sound much, but it's something."

But why have all his boyfriends



The Fall Guy... in his new book, *Love Letters*, Gambaccini portrays himself as a weak middle-aged man, obsessed by a string of young men who abuse his generosity

PHOTOGRAPH: EAMMON McCABE

been so much younger and less successful than him? As I ask this, the phone starts ringing. He holds up his hand. "I'm waiting for Darren to pick that up," he explains, chanting tensely to himself. "Pick it up-Darren-pick it up-please-pick it up." (It stops and he relaxes with a sigh.) I repeat the question. Has he ever had a partner about the same age and sort of status as himself? I mean a partner who might be considered his equal?

"Um, no. I guess I've always thought I don't need another one of me! I have what might be called a nurturing streak. It gives me pleasure to watch people develop." And then he laughs, rather sinisterly. Why is he laughing? "Oh call Dr Anthony Clare."

"You know," he says, reminding me just how different homosexual and heterosexual relationships really are. "There are gradations of physical relationships with gay men, and you would be surprised at how few men I've had actual intercourse with."

Well, since he's raised the subject, how few? "Oh, I'm not the type to keep notches on the bedpost." But you've just raised the subject. "Oh, old. This is interesting. Let me think about this. Um..." And he covers his face with his hands and starts mum-

bling to himself. Little noises emerge from the cupped hand, small giggles of remembered pleasure. "Oh I'm going chronologically," he says, flicking through his mental address. "Six" he announces triumphantly. "I've had intercourse with six men."

Gambaccini could talk about his relationships all day, but there is also the matter of Radio 3 and his laboured attempts to become more accessible. Hence Gambaccini's very public recruitment from Classic FM last autumn by Nicholas Kenyon, controller of Radio 3, to replace Composer of the Week with his own Morning Collection. Gambaccini's background in pop music appalled many Radio 3 listeners, and suddenly Liz Forgan, then managing director of BBC Radio, had another Anderson Country on her hands.

Was he hurt by the furor? "I was the least bigoted audience I have ever encountered in 25 years of broadcasting," he says calmly. "I was tremendously disappointed by their knee-jerk reaction and, of course, by the response of the Radio 3 executives."

Which was? "It got hot and they asked me to leave the kitchen." He repeats this, shaking his head. "It got hot and they asked me to leave

the kitchen." Does he feel they should have stuck by him? "Of course. They were reacting to so-called Focus Groups. The Focus Groups said 'We don't want an American accent on Radio 3 in the mornings', so that was it."

"It wasn't criticism it was prejudice. And I wasn't informed by anyone at Radio 3. It was left to the head of the production company (Mentorn) to tell me the programme had been recommissioned, but only if I did not present it."

I wince for him as he tells me this and remarks that Kenyon then avoided him for three months. "He's a person who didn't really take a stand when he had to take a stand. I could tell when he abandoned me. He put out a Proms promotional CD, where people chose their favourite classical tracks, and Brian Kay's in there and I'm not. This tells me there probably isn't going to be any Paul much longer! But no one had said anything to me; that's how you know at the BBC."

When it did finally announce in May that Gambaccini was leaving, the BBC lied by suggesting cruelly that it was his own decision. "And I have to tell you," says Paul crossly, "the last time I saw Nick Kenyon, a month before the an-

nouncement, I was walking in the basement of Broadcasting House and he was coming up some stairs and he knelt down in front of me and salaamed, saying 'Ah maestro!' And this was in front of John Evans (Head of Radio 3 Music Department)!"

"And I gotta tell you, in the first couple of months, whenever I ran into any of the people at Radio 3 they all said I must keep on Liz Forgan wrote me a two-page handwritten letter! The only time I ever met Hussey (Marmaduke Hussey, the then chairman of the BBC governors) he just said (about the critics) 'Oh ignore them, I always do.'"

Could he? "The thing I'm proudest of during the last year is the fact that I just carried on going in there and doing the show."

And did he personally feel it worked? "Look, I'm not saying I'm the world's greatest broadcaster, but I was addressing the brief I was given. You must remember I was asked to achieve a certain assignment."

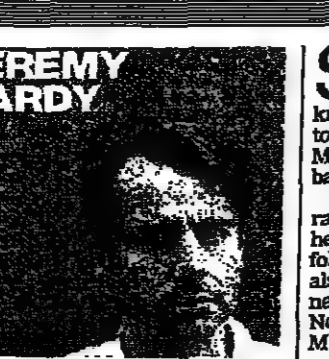
Whatever one's opinions about the programme itself — and the ratings show a small dip — it is hard not to feel sorry for Paul Gambaccini. He did what he was asked to do and he was shafted. I wonder how he felt recording yesterday's programme?

"Ha ha! It ended deliciously and pathetically. The head of presentation phones me to say I must announce it's my last programme. I had already planned to say that I hoped the listeners would be gracious to Catriona Young, who's succeeding me. But Pres said that wasn't enough. They wanted me to spell out that it was my last programme."

"I thought, I can't believe they want to rub it in so hard. They've chosen not to support me and now they want me to tell everyone they've chosen not to support me." He compromised by saying it was not his last programme, but his "final appearance" on Radio 3.

And so it seems only fair to give him the last word now. "Radio 3 has tethered itself, ball and chain, to its crankiest listeners. There's complete myopia in the Radio 3 hierarchy; they don't know what's going on out there. And I don't have to tell Radio 3 it has a fight on its hands. For the general public won't carry on funding a station which isn't for the general public."

To order your copy of *Love Letters* for £11.99 including free delivery (r.p. £12.99) phone our credit card hotline on 0500 418419 or post a cheque payable to Guardian Interactive, 250 Western Road, London W3



Patron saint of lost Left causes

JEREMY HARDY

SEVEN years ago, the Guildford Four were released and Jeremy Corbyn, hitherto known as a "parliamentary untouchable", was surrounded by MPs of all parties, slapping his back and praising his courage. He had been the first person to raise the case in Parliament, just as he was the first to condemn the folly of arming Saddam. He was also one of the first MPs to see the necessity of talking to Sinn Fein. Nowadays, everybody's doing it. Martin McGuinness was over-recently to visit Kevin McNamara in Millbank. He walked into MIS by mistake.

But Corbyn meets Adams and the party bosses go spare. Since they've never liked him anyway, he shouldn't worry unduly. The cause he takes up are hardly ever popular. The Kurds only became fashionable after Britain had first bolstered their tormentor then fought him. Corbyn was one of the few politicians to argue that Brit-

ain was wrong on both counts. Every politician who did support the Gulf War must take responsibility for thousands of civilian deaths. The IRA could never dream of waging a bombing campaign like that. Yet Labour leaders think it insensitive for Gerry Adams to visit London when the IRA suffered a major defeat and consequently did not bomb anything.

It was also a week in which interviewers tried to get Adams to admit that he had borne arms. He said, "Paddy" and down was bragging about having done so. Liberal Democrats take a feeble pride in being under the command of an ex-soldier. "We may look west but our leader knows how to kill a man with his bare hands", is the subtext of much of their literature. Sadly for them, the Irish Question overshadowed their whole conference. A really paranoid conspiracy-theorist might believe that Blair's people manufactured Corbyn to that end. But that is

nonsense; they manufactured it because they've been itching to have a go at Corbyn.

Gerry Adams coming to Parliament is not actually big news. Had he wanted to, Adams could have turned up there every working day for several years, collecting his expenses, and presumably inviting guests of his own.

At that time, the IRA were causing a great many deaths. In that climate, the fact that there were a number of people in prison wrongly convicted of IRA killings, worried only a few parliamentarians. Jeremy Corbyn was one such MP. So was Chris Mullin. But not Tony Blair. In fact, Blair has been consistently useless on misdeeds of justice. In the late 1980s he was buttonholed by an Islington party member about the Guildford Four. He listened patiently and asked only, "So how many of them are there?"

Many commentators would grant that Jeremy Corbyn's consistent

support for wrongly convicted people is admirable. They will also admit that spending nine and 10 hours at every weekly constituency surgery, dealing with appalling

social problems in one of the poorest boroughs in Britain, is to be commended. No one should be fooled that the Blair's leafy enclave is representative of Islington, which has the third highest infant mortality rate in the country.

Corbyn increases the Labour ma-

majority in Islington North every time he stands. And he still works on the cases of innocent people who are not yet widely known, like Danny McNamara and John Kin-sella. He champions refugees, homeless people, sacked workers, the developing world and the environment.

I'll concede that he's no orator. I saw him speak in Dublin at a victory rally for the Guildford Four. As he reached the climax of his speech, he lowered his ear to someone who was whispering to him. Such is his concern to do justice to every issue, that his closing words were something like, "If Britain still had capital punishment... we have a lost child so could the parents of Declain please make their way to the side of the stage... these four people would not be alive today."

In fact, he's so concerned about everything, that you could smack him one, were it not for the fact that most of what he does never

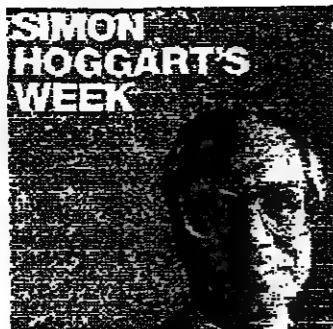
gets any publicity. The Left takes him for granted. "Jeremy Corbyn'll do it" is the watchword of those whose issues no one else will touch. "But can't we get someone famous?" is the usual complaint.

Now he is famous, at least for a couple of weeks. But the invitation to Adams was hardly a publicity stunt by Corbyn; his office did not even put out a press release until Wednesday night, when the storm was raging. So is he simply naive, as has been suggested by journalists who know they can't credibly suggest him to be bad?

It is always comforting to believe that someone with whom you profoundly disagree is an archaic revolutionary, a deluded romantic. It's what you do when you can't put together a sensible argument against them.

But all this is a distraction with an election approaching. After all, Gerry Adams will probably regain his seat, and this time he might turn up.

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SIMON HOGGART'S WEEK

THE death of Diarmuid O'Neill in a police raid this week allows me to climb back on a favourite hobby horse: the IRA are not evil, black-hearted cowards...

the IRA makes sure they hear nothing from anyone who might point out the lunacy and horror of what they are doing. The cell system keeps them even more isolated...

South African wine, rarely fails to effect the necessary restoration. 'Jeeves, you are a genius. Now concerning that ticklish business about O'Donoghue which I mentioned yesterday.'

MY friend John Ware is the Panorama journalist who attacked Esther Rantzen for a misleading and unfair programme about the British Home and Hospital for Incurables in London...

As an ex-smoker I sympathise. A Scottish colleague once saw an old man being interviewed on TV about the 50th anniversary of his quitting. The reporter jocularly asked if he ever missed it...



SMALLWEED ANOTHER week gone by, and still no confirmation of Smallweed's prediction that Ann Widdecombe MP is to move from Minister of State at the Home Office to manager of Manchester City...

Family loyalty that lets lunacy roam the streets

It's that time of year again—the Booker shortlist is announced on Tuesday. So are literary prizes a force for good or evil? Novelist and Booker judge, A L Kennedy, and fellow novelist and critic, D J Taylor, disagree

Dear Alison, DON'T for a moment want to disparage the sterling work currently being done by yourself and your colleagues, and like any writer I'm in favour of practically anything that bestows money and kudos on the profession...

Dear David, YES, prizes have their faults—problems of variable criteria, eccentric constitution, the intrusion of quirky/corrupt personal agendas and carping press coverage...



the Whitbread, where the judges have to pick the winner from five different categories. If people want to throw money at literature, there are more effective means of doing it...

GOODNESS! I wouldn't dream of impugning your motives as a Booker judge—I'm sure you're just as noble and disinterested as the rest of us...

WELL, pardon me, I'll just keep perfecting my tubercular cough and shuffle back up to the garret. I wrote fantastically well when I was on supplementary benefit...

GALLANTRY, let alone considerations of literary merit, compels me to salute the prize judges who brought your early work to wider attention...

Look at the coverage of any major prize—it will consistently hint that books are a waste of time, that writers are a shower of nasty-minded spongers...

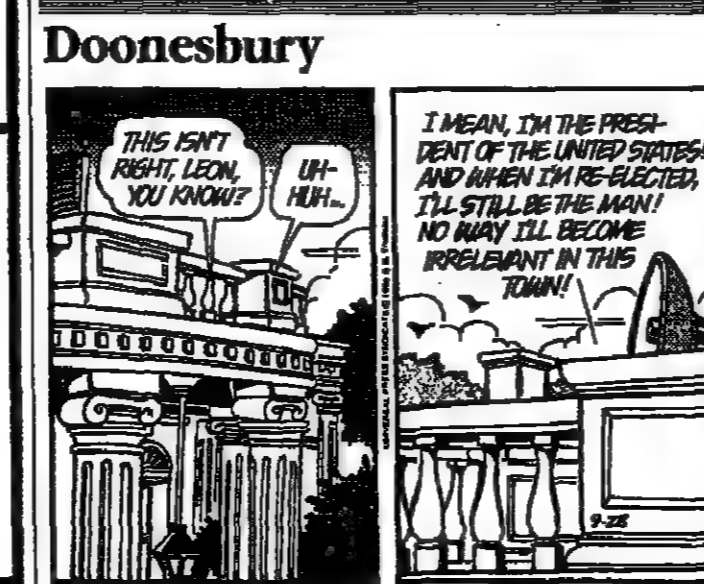


£10 BUYS A CHAIN CUTTER

He's chomped up through his sensitive nose and made to walk on red hot plates, whilst the back of his legs are set in three to music. Onlookers taunt him and force him to drink beer...

Form for donating to the World Society for the Protection of Animals (WSPA) with fields for name, address, and donation amount.

Dear Alison, I like to think that a lot of good writing gets produced in conditions relative to you'll note the qualifying adjective—'insecurity' and that a growing bank account is the first step to middle-aged inertia...



Dear David, WELL, pardon me, I'll just keep perfecting my tubercular cough and shuffle back up to the garret. I wrote fantastically well when I was on supplementary benefit...

Dear David, GALLANTRY? I'm sure you have bags of it. But is it entirely gallant to imply that I'm a bent Booker judge? You seem to suggest I picked up Reiver Blues and thought, 'Shucks that won't get reviewed much—I'll skip it'...

As an ex-smoker I sympathise. A Scottish colleague once saw an old man being interviewed on TV about the 50th anniversary of his quitting. The reporter jocularly asked if he ever missed it...

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Dear David, GALLANTRY? I'm sure you have bags of it. But is it entirely gallant to imply that I'm a bent Booker judge? You seem to suggest I picked up Reiver Blues and thought, 'Shucks that won't get reviewed much—I'll skip it'...

Dear David, GALLANTRY, let alone considerations of literary merit, compels me to salute the prize judges who brought your early work to wider attention...

SMALLWEED ANOTHER week gone by, and still no confirmation of Smallweed's prediction that Ann Widdecombe MP is to move from Minister of State at the Home Office to manager of Manchester City...

Dear Alison, DON'T for a moment want to disparage the sterling work currently being done by yourself and your colleagues, and like any writer I'm in favour of practically anything that bestows money and kudos on the profession...

Dear David, YES, prizes have their faults—problems of variable criteria, eccentric constitution, the intrusion of quirky/corrupt personal agendas and carping press coverage...

the Whitbread, where the judges have to pick the winner from five different categories. If people want to throw money at literature, there are more effective means of doing it...

GOODNESS! I wouldn't dream of impugning your motives as a Booker judge—I'm sure you're just as noble and disinterested as the rest of us...

WELL, pardon me, I'll just keep perfecting my tubercular cough and shuffle back up to the garret. I wrote fantastically well when I was on supplementary benefit...

GALLANTRY, let alone considerations of literary merit, compels me to salute the prize judges who brought your early work to wider attention...

Johnnie To



Where labour's cheap, profit's steep... In Shenzhen (above) and Xin Hui (below) where factories are producing the Safeway shopping bags once made in Britain

MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: DON MOPHEE

Is China trading places?

Why are our plastic bags produced in China and not Telford? Simon Hoggart blames globalisation



If we're overtaken by yellow and brown people on the other side of the world.

Meanwhile, governments increasingly become facilitators, abandoning ideology in order to suck what investment they can into the country. (It is eerie how much, outside the House of Commons, Messrs Blair and Major sound alike on the subject of the future. It's another sign of Parliament's marginalisation that they never bother to say anything important there: it is becoming a side-show, a twice-weekly bear fight staged for TV.)

The Saudi regime is not in danger from Iraq, so much as from dissident groups operating in London, who can beam anti-government material, assembled in a bedroom in Willesden, down from satellites direct into people's homes. Even the revolutionary barricades are now electronic, and safe from the secret police.

There are encouraging signs. The biggest economy in the world is the US, where they have 5.1 per cent unemployment and a growth rate which, at 4.8 per cent, any European leader would kill for. Its economy remains incredibly flexible, and implies that the West could survive and even prosper, even while globalisation is spreading wealth to the old Third World. What this means socially we don't know. Ian Angell predicts a horde of the itinerant unemployed terrorising the land. Governments, which once offered carrots and sticks, will only offer sticks in the shape of a ferocious police force used to protect the better-off. Cities will begin to see themselves as the only important economic units. London, for example, on its own one of the world's more successful economic centres, might simply decide to stop sharing its wealth with the rest of the UK. The new greater Hong Kong will keep out most Chinese; what's to stop London keeping out the poorer Brits? Property prices already work that way.

Or the greater prosperity - and the fact that there is ample food grown in the world for everyone - could, through miracles of social and economic engineering, lead to a better, happier world.

Or somewhere in between. As HG Wells said, the future is never as futuristic as you think.

The first of Simon Hoggart's two-part documentary on globalisation, *The Hollow State*, will be shown on BBC2 at 8.10pm tonight

I HAVE seen the future, and it stinks. You can get a good look at it in the Chinese city of Xin Hui, which you've probably never heard of, since in Chinese terms it's a small conurbation of just 800,000 people. I went there recently to make a BBC television programme about globalisation, travelling in the company of Cliff Lever, a Derbyshire businessman working for British Polythene.

Among many other things, BP makes plastic shopping bags and until recently it made them in Telford, Shropshire. But because Chinese labour is much cheaper than ours, the world price of plastic bags has dropped, by between one third and one quarter of a penny. It's a piffling sum, but the Xin Hui factory makes 21 million bags a week (many ready-printed "Keep Britain Tidy"), and this saving translates into enormous sums for the big stores.

Realising that he could no longer sell pricier British-made bags, Cliff set off for China, more or less on his own, and established a factory on what was, a few years ago, a paddy field. Several times a year he takes a plane from Hong Kong, then a high-speed ferry up the Pearl River to Xin Hui, staying when he gets there in what used to be the guest house for senior Communist officials. On most trips he's the only European he sets eyes on.

Cliff is fairly devout, so on Sundays he goes to Xin Hui's new legal Christian church, where the

mournful hymns familiar from home are sung in Chinese. British Polythene's Chinese workers are paid a basic rate of around 50p an hour, which is one-tenth of what the bag makers of Telford earned. These are good wages, vastly better than the average 800 per year still earned in the many Chinese provinces where liberalisation has not yet begun.

So desperate are Chinese people to get work in the new special economic zones that mass migrations are taking place around the country. On the edge of Shenzhen, the boom city just over the border from Hong Kong, there is an immigration post not to keep foreigners out but to bar Chinese people who want a share in the new prosperity. There are now 150 million people in south-east China alone working in manufacturing industry, far more than in the whole of the EU put together or the United States. Surprisingly, Britain is the largest European investor.

In the cities themselves you can see rampant capitalism on the move, like time-lapse films showing a flower grow in 30 seconds. West Mercedes clog crowded alleyways and nudge up against rickshaw drivers.

When I first spent time in China, 12 years ago, market stalls were pitifully empty. The Chinese-made goods looked British but fragile; one suspected that the TV sets might have been gas-powered. Now some shops are bursting with well-made products

— cameras, videos, even washing machines. The clothing is better, I suspect, than you would see in the centre of a deprived British city.

On the left it is a commonplace to complain about politicians' modish obsession with globalisation. The implication is that it's being used as an excuse to hack away at workers' rights — insurance, holidays, job security. Yet these same people were most vocal when they demanded more spending on overseas aid.

Now that people in the developing world are earning real money in real jobs, instead of being dependent on the Lady Bountifuls of the West, they complain yet more loudly about the jobs lost by British workers. Nobody seems to have thought, when it came to helping the dispossessed, that it might mean dispossessing ourselves.

Saying that someone is obsessed by globalisation is as absurd as complaining that a farmer is obsessed by the weather. He has to be. The question is not if we can stop the process — we could, but as Alvin Toffler says, "then prepare to become Cambodia" — but how can we cope with the appalling problems it may produce?

The Savanarola of globalisation is Professor Ian Angell of the LSE. He foresees a future of massive social upheaval. Since jobs, money, goods, information and people can be transferred around the globe almost without restrictions, he says that the better off, those whose mental skills are

marketable anywhere, will simply contract out of the existing state.

Already — especially in the US and increasingly here — they will live in secure, closed estates. As they drive their children to school in foreign cars, they by-pass state education, the NHS, public transport. Soon they will by-pass taxes, choosing to live where they have to pay the lowest rates.

What keeps them in Britain? Friends, family, familiarity, the language. But would that survive the promise of real wealth abroad? And much they might be troubled by the poverty around them, plus growing social disorder and crime, they will probably cling on to their money.

In the same way we could donate the 5p a week we save on Chinese bags to the distressed plastic workers of Telford, but we don't. In the global world, the old political links which bound us together are dissolving. More and more, we are going to be facing the world on our own, carrying what is saleable in our heads around with us, like an artisan's tool bag.

The new processes are well underway. The Treasury announced this year that it was unexpectedly missing £4 billion in VAT receipts. Much of this has been squandered away legally in cyberspace. Any multi-national company can adjust its affairs to pay the minimum tax possible on every transaction. The Information Super-Highway turns out to be packed with unmarked white

vans full of used fifties. Nationality is just another commodity to be traded these days. You can buy full residence and employment rights in the US for \$1 million. Canada is much cheaper, and gets you into the North American Free Trade Association, which is why around 80 per cent of rich Hong Kong citizens choose to live there. But you can pick Honduras, a bargain at \$30,000. For the well-to-do, the right nationality is an optional extra.

In Britain, we are still just ahead of the game. Siemens, the German electronics giant, is building a \$1.1 billion semi-conductor factory on Tyneside, offering two reasons for its choice: there will be enough experts to work there and because we offer a Thatcherised, docile labour force, prepared to work all shifts, do overtime, and — most important — to earn much less than Germans.

Similarly, the Korean conglomerate LG is investing twice as much in South Wales. The main reason is that wages there are lower than they are in Korea. How long can this downward spiral go on? Forever? Possibly so. The French have hardly started, which is why they have dangerously high unemployment, propped up by the CAP, a lunatic device designed to turn at mind-boggling expense, the whole of Europe into a theme park devoted to how life was lived a cen-

tury ago. Government attempts to join the rest of the world are greeted by riots and strikes.

The spiral is already affecting the Asian tigers we are invited to admire. Very little manufacturing goes on in Hong Kong; wages, higher than in Britain, cost too much. Singapore farms work out to Bangladesh and India, and is thinking of moving into Africa.

All this is rapidly diminishing the role of politicians. Their traditional main job, of raising money and spending it, is more and more difficult. Increasingly they can only raise the taxes the market will tolerate. Pay the unemployed more, and you have to increase taxes, which drives away companies, which means more unemployed. This isn't some demented Chicago analysis: it's what's happening in Europe, and it could well happen here too. (Last year Britain dropped from first to ninth for world inward investment.)

And the disappearance of manufacturing jobs is not all bad news. If Nike trainers cost less because they're assembled in Indonesia for 20 cents an hour instead of the \$12 an hour the company paid in Oregon, then we get cheaper shoes and the Indonesians get a wage, of sorts, and often paid to children. In real terms, videos now cost one-tenth of what they did when they first arrived. So in some respects we are all better off. Labour's "prosperity league table" is ludicrous; the unspoken sub-text is that it's all very well for everyone to be richer, but not

should vacate my Kremlin office by December 30. However, on the morning of the 27th, I received a telephone call from the Kremlin reception-room: Yeltsin, Russian Khasbulatov and Gennady Burbulis had occupied my office at 8.30am and held a party there, emptying a bottle of whisky... this was the triumph of plunderers. I can find no other word for it.

I was told to vacate both the country residence and the presidential apartment within three days. On December 25, even before my television address, a group of people appeared to seal the presidential apartment. Everything had to be done in a rush; we were forced to move to different lodgings within 24 hours. I saw the results in the morning — heaps of clothes, books, dishes, folders, newspapers, letters and God knows what lying strewn on the floor.

Following this "exodus", we settled into our new apartment. I busied myself with my personal belongings (the library, all sorts of papers that had accumulated over the years — notes, letters, telegrams, photographs, documents).

Waves of recollection swept over me: pictures of both remote and recent events. I was under the spell of painful reflections. Time and again I reached the same conclusion: we were still only at the beginning of the road we had chosen in March 1985. Let people talk about the end of the Gorbachev era as much as they want — the main act was only just about to begin.

This is an edited extract from *Memoirs by Mikhail Gorbachev*, to be published on October 10 by Doubleday/Transworld, price £25. All rights reserved



Point of disagreement... Years of tension between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin climaxed with extraordinary scenes of vindictiveness and almost childish pique at the end of December 1991 when the Soviet leader was brusquely bundled out of the Kremlin. Here, in an exclusive extract from his memoirs, the architect of Glasnost

reveals how Yeltsin and his cronies invaded Gorbachev's personal office and toasted his downfall. The ostensible reason for Gorbachev's ousting was the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States to replace the Soviet Union. The memoirs uncover just how sordid and rancorous was the process of transition

Triumph of the plunderers

HELMUT KOHL telephoned me again in the evening of December 19 to ask how I saw developments in our country. I could sense that he was rather upset, even alarmed, which was quite unusual for him. François Mitterrand was the first foreign leader I spoke to after

the meeting in Alma Ata [which agreed the framework for the CIS]. I sensed from his very first words, which were full of goodwill and sympathy, that he was mostly concerned about my emotional state and my projects for the future. I informed him that I would soon be relinquishing the office of President of the USSR.

On December 23 I had a talk with John Major. Though we had come to know each other only relatively recently, we had quickly established a good personal rapport. He too was alarmed by the latest developments. "Whatever happens," Major said, "there can be no doubt that you have secured for yourself a special

place in the history of your country and in world history. We are aware that the coming months are going to be very difficult." On December 25 I had another telephone conversation with George Bush. I told him I would announce my stepping down in about two hours, adding that I had just sent him a farewell letter.

used the opportunity to repeat that I genuinely appreciated what we had achieved together — both in his time as vice-president and particularly after we both had become presidents.

I said that there should be no doubt that he should recognize the Commonwealth of Independent States. The second priority, I continued, was the support of Russia.

I told Bush that I was transferring the right to use nuclear arms to the President of the Russian Federation. It was most important to ensure that nuclear weapons remained under reliable control. I said that he could celebrate Christmas without worry.

In Alma Ata the council of leaders of the Commonwealth of Independent States made a decision concerning my status after I ceased to be President of the USSR. At my request the Russian President signed a decree providing premises for the political and socioeconomic research fund I had decided to create and direct in order to continue my activities under the new conditions. (Yeltsin retracted this decision only a few months later.)

There were no farewells. None of the leaders of the CIS states telephoned me, not on the day of my departure or since. The transfer of Supreme Command to the Russian President was scheduled for the evening of December 25. We had agreed that the ceremony should take place in my Kremlin office. Defence Minister Shaposhnikov, with a group of generals and the officers who kept guard over the famous presidential "briefcases" with the control system for nuclear arms, was already waiting for us.

A few minutes passed — the Russian President was apparently late. Then I was told that he had refused to come. It turned out that Yeltsin, together with his entourage, had listened to my televised speech and flown into a rage.

After a while, I was told that he proposed to meet on "neutral territory" — in the Catherine Hall, the part of the Kremlin where talks with foreign leaders were usually held. Yeltsin and his team apparently saw this as a symbolic gesture. However, their action looked rather comical, not to say stupid.

THEREFORE decided to send immediately to Yeltsin a package containing the decree of the USSR President on the transfer to the President of Russia of supreme command over the armed forces. I handed the briefcase to Shaposhnikov, asking him to take it to his new owner as quickly as possible and report back to me. The entire procedure took only a few minutes.

Thus, even in the first minutes after stepping down, I was faced with impudence and a lack of courtesy. Ensuing events proved that this action, rather than an isolated backlash of Yeltsin's feelings of revenge, was part of the policy he had adopted towards me.

Yeltsin put off his presidential duties to supervise personally my "expulsion" from the Kremlin. He gave instructions for the lowering of the Soviet flag and the hoisting of the flag of the Russian Federation, and personally saw to it that the procedure should be completed according to schedule and filmed by television cameras. We had initially agreed that I

arts



Conversation piece... Johann Zoffany's painting of the Tribuna Of The Uffizi (oil on canvas, 123 x 155 cm)

ROYAL COLLECTION

SHOOTING STARS



RISSING: MILTON JONES

Up... Actor and writer Jones insinuates himself into the public consciousness with appearances in Channel 4's Sitcom Festival, Saturday Live and The Stand-Up Show. His star goes supernova when cast in the Tesco advertising campaign.

Up... At the comedy cattle-market that is the Edinburgh Fringe, Milton Jones is the funniest fatted calf. His show is described as "perfect"; he is a "slow-burning gag-maestro". Make that maestro: the Perrier panel duty name him Best Newcomer.

And away... Tomorrow night, Jones brings his distinctive chaos of character comedy to the West End in a Perrier double bill with overall winner Dylan Moran. If pedestrians passing Her Majesty's Theatre encounter a tornado of laughter, we'll know that Milton Jones has arrived.



FALLING: TINY TIM

Going... Herbert Kheury, aka Tiny Tim, emerges in the late sixties. He's a one-man freakshow, warbling Tiptoe Through The Tulips, espousing Christian fundamentalism, marrying a 17-year-old disciple live on the Johnny Carson Show.

Going... Three years later, the marriage comes to a rancorous end. He slides into two decades of unnoised comebacks and alcoholism. Gone... He's just married another fan — a millionaire's daughter who saved herself for him for 27 years — and released Girl, his first single in eons. His modest success in the US means Tiny Tim may soon be coming to a church hall near you.

Hob nobbing

Johann Zoffany had a royal commission to paint the treasures of Italy's Grand Tour. What he produced was a masterly portrayal of young English aristocrats on the pull, says Rachel Barnes

WHAT do the plays of Shakespeare have in common with the novels of Henry James and the films of Merchant Ivory? A fascination with Italy, which reached dizzy heights in the 18th century, when it was a fact commonly acknowledged that every young man in possession of a fortune had to be in need of a Grand Tour.

No chin was so weak that it couldn't be strengthened by five years touring the art treasures of Italy. Our museums are full of the knick-knacks they brought back with them. Burlington House, Somerset House, the British Museum, Sir John Soane's Museum, Kew Gardens are all examples of neo-classical fervour — and this month it is the subject of a grand new exhibition at the Tate.

It is an experience that is vividly — not to say garishly — summed up in one of the paintings in the exhibition. Johann Zoffany's conversation piece, The Tribuna Of The Uffizi, has become one of the most famous evocations of the Grand Tour. At least part of its charm lies in its undeniable kitsch. It is all so precious. Zoffany's scrupulous accuracy speaks oases for the exclusive world of the British patriots abroad, immersed in the Florence stage of the experience.

The Tribuna had been built in the Uffizi as a shrine for the most exotic and precious works of art in the Medici collections. Queen

Charlotte, who had heard of Zoffany's plans to go to Italy in the summer of 1772, commissioned him "to paint for Her. the Florence Gallery".

The gentlemen are in fact a motley crew of connoisseurs, diplomats, travellers and young men on the Grand Tour. Many are portraits of known figures of the day, executed with Zoffany's famed precision and genius for catching a likeness. They gather rapturously around the works of art, immaculately dressed in their powdered wigs, the sartorial elegance of the period painstakingly recorded. A glimpse of the leisured existence of the elite opens up before us. It is all there, the ethos of the time squeezed into this overcrowded spectacle, with its strange combination of faultless realism and fantastical dayglo colouring. The passion for art and antiquity, the British patriots' hounobbing and bonding: learning the social graces and making connections to further their back home was all a part of it.

Women are conspicuous by their absence: the Grand Tour was principally a lad's outing. The gentlemen are surrounded by some of the most celebrated art treasures of the day: Raphael, Titian, Holbein, Correggio and Rubens grace the walls. Works of art clutter the shelves, reproduced in the meticulous detail of today's gallery postcard.

Zoffany makes clear that the pursuit of art and antiquity was a major motivation in the Grand Tour. Yet are they all discussing art? On closer inspection the gentlemen in the foreground appear to be regarding Titian's Venus Of Urbino with open lasciviousness. Behind them, another group gazes longingly at the curvaceous form of the Venus De Medici. Zoffany's picture is not without humour. We are reminded that the purpose of sending 18-year-old boys to the Continent was to educate them as lovers as well as antiquarians. They were expected to return home at 21, having sown a few wild oats, but fully competent to propagate a family.

It didn't always quite work out like this. To the right in Zoffany's painting, Sir Horace Mann, shown in the foreground, standing in attention and sporting the Order of the Bath, listens to his friend Thomas Patch. Patch appears to compare the Titian with The Wrestlers, a classical sculpture of muscular, writhing bodies. It has been suggested that Patch's left hand points towards the wrestlers, demonstrating his own sexual preference.

There was a fair bit of Patch's indicated preference to be found on the Grand Tour. Italy was seen increasingly in England as a land

of homosexuality. The big worry was that the men would return "foppish, syphilitic dandies", with very little desire to propagate.

In theory the Grand Tour was supposed to offer controlled opportunities for acquiring sexual experience. In practice it wasn't always that controlled. Parents became increasingly anxious that the opportunities offered could distract and corrupt at an impressionable age. The boys, it was said, were in danger of returning home "disabled debauchees". The writer James Boswell confessed: "During my stay in Naples I was truly libertine. I ran after girls without restraint. My blood was inflamed by the burning climate, and my passions were violent. I indulged them; my mind had almost nothing to do with it."

As if reminding us of all this, Zoffany has included Sir James Bruce, the famous African Traveller, on the far right of the picture. Bruce was one of the most notorious philanderers of his day. The

The big worry was that Italy would turn men into 'syphilitic fops'

artist described him as "the wonder of the age, the terror of married men and the constant lover." It was the Catholic writer Richard Lassels who first coined the term Grand Tour in 1670 in his Journey Through Italy. He had got the travel bug in a big way. Endlessly he waxed lyrical about Italy which "seemed to me to be Nature's Darling and the Eldest sister of all other Countries".

But it was with improved transport and — at last — a spell of peace that the whole thing took off. Like the rush to visit Prague after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, Italy experienced a mass invasion of tourists after centuries of hostilities between the Protestant British government and the Papal States.

Going on the Grand Tour was an expensive business. It could only ever have been for the privileged: the rites of passage for the British upper class. Education, politics, sex — it was all inclusive. It temporarily replaced the function of Oxbridge, which in this period did not enjoy its finest hour. This desire to travel and experience new cultures is something we have inherited — an urge that no amount of TV, photographs and exotic products in the supermar-

ket appears to diminish. A need for adventure, even danger — perhaps to be someone a little different for a while, is as relevant now as it was for the 18th-century travellers.

But some things have changed. With jet-assisted travel to Asia, Africa, the Himalayas, the motivation now is as much to escape western civilisation as to discover it. For the Grand Tourists, Italy could provide an exoticism that can now only be found on the other side of the globe. Today's equivalents to the Grand Tourists are perhaps the young Americans and Antipodians who fill Italy's Youth Hostels on their once-in-a-lifetime cultural pilgrimages to mother Europe. One could almost imagine Dr Johnson's exhortation ringing in their ears: "A man who has not been to Italy is always conscious of an inferiority from his not having seen what it is expected a man should see."

To make his picture, Zoffany was given the rare privilege of moving seven masterpieces from the Pitti Palace into the Uffizi. Florence's Uffizi held a very special place in the hearts of the Grand Tourist. The writer William Beckford wrote, "I thought I should have gone wild upon first setting my feet in the Gallery and when I beheld such ranks of Statues, such treasures of gems and bronzes — I fell into a delightful delirium which none but Souls like my experience, and, unable to check my rapture flew madly from Bust to Bust and Cabinet to Cabinet like a Butterfly bewildered in a Universe of Flowers."

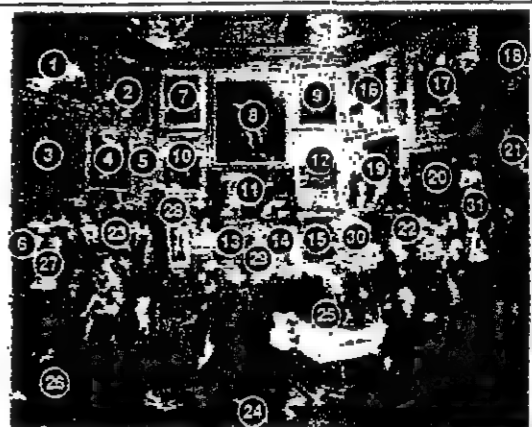
In Zoffany's painting, Titian is represented by the Venus Of Urbino. It is Zoffany himself who holds up the Madonna by the High Renaissance artist Raphael. Titian was often seen at this time to represent unbridled sensuality. Raphael was a symbol of the loftier artistic and educational pursuits of the Grand Tour.

The lure of the antique in Rome, the Eternal City — represented by the classical statues in the Tribuna, and in the newly discovered cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum, was the sacred goal for many at the end of the arduous journey. Collecting became the grand passion of men like the wealthy Catholic Charles Townley, also famous for his affair and subsequent marriage to the beautiful Emma Hamilton. His treasures, collected on three Grand Tours, later formed the basis of the British Museum's collection.

But perhaps Venice, the City Of Love, beckoned most. It was usually the first stopping place on the itinerary. Naples being the furthest south most travellers got. As an imperial power La Serenissima might be falling, but as a city for

Key

- 1 Amos's Caricature of the Grand Tourists
- 2 Gainsborough's Charles Watson
- 3 Raphael's Madonna and Child
- 4 Correggio's Virgin and Child
- 5 Titian's Venus of Urbino
- 6 Rubens's Hercules and Prometheus
- 7 School of Raphael's School of Athens
- 8 Raphael's The School of Athens
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tourists, it had only just started. The modern art of Tiepolo and Canaletto was popular with the English. Many a Canaletto came back to England as a memento of the trip. It was also fashionable to have one's portrait painted in Venice by artists such as Pompeo Batoni, who knew just how to flatter. Sir Matthew Featherstone and his young wife had a lovely one done: he was dressed fetchingly as a hunter, and she as the goddess Diana. He would look just the thing back on the estate at Uppark.

The young blade's memento-hunting did have its price. The reality of travel was harsh indeed. Terrors lurked in the constant fear of the plague, the unspeakably uncomfortable seat chaise — the usual mode of transport, and the inconsistent standard of Italian inns. The only way to cross the Alps from France into Italy in the 18th century was to be carried over them in a sedan chair. The experience was like travelling to a remote part of India might be now.

In its heyday the Grand Tour had been seen as an Italian journey. A route to the sun-drenched

South, awakening the British traveller to the glories of classical culture. By the turn of the century, this classical thing, with Italy seen as a kind of theme park, was over. Zoffany's painting gives an insight into the snobbery that contributed to its demise. Although the ambience in the Tribuna appears so rarified to our eyes, for some it was not nearly exclusive enough. Zoffany was later savagely criticised by Sir Horace Walpole for including "the flock of travelling boys and one does not know or care whom". The king and queen also thought it "improper" and neither wanted the picture.

The Napoleonic Wars might have been the event that put an end to continental travel. But the invention of steam travel and the rapid development of package tourism meant that for the British upper class, it was no longer elite. It was over. What English gentleman, after all, would send his son on the equivalent of a SunMed holiday? The Grand Tour opens at the Tate, London, on October 10.

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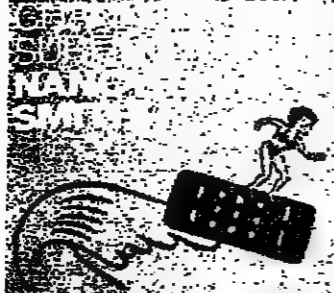
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مکان التعمیر



Sleep is critical

SO THIS had turned up apparently, from the look of him, selling velvet pictures to finance his theological studies. No so. This one had come to return my video for Channel 5.

Now I am a fair judge of a TV engineer. I married one. This looked more like Adrian Mole, aged 18 and three-quarters. He was in a hurry and I was hesitant but he had what the rental company called my Unique Security Number so I let him return their video. After he had gone, it wouldn't work.

Television critics — I don't know if you realise this — work almost wholly from video cassettes. So, with my main video out of action, I withdrew to my second line of defence, the video in my bedroom. The only problem with watching TV in bed is that you fall asleep, the surest kind of criticism. I shall, therefore, rate Friday's television on its snooze factor.

You might expect *One Man And His Dog* (BBC 2) to have the highest snooze rating. All those sheep. Not a bit of it. For the first time it featured a sheepdog called Sid. Sheepdogs are not called Sid. Sidney Cove Home! starring Elizabeth Taylor just doesn't sound right. Like princes of the blood, sheepdogs have a limited choice of names and Sid's not one of them.

He was instantly marked out as a pariah. Robin Page, the presenter who looks like Nigel in *EastEnders*, called him *The Outsider*. How would Sid measure up to the more correctly named Cap "son of the famous Wisp".

The sheep were Swaledale, which tend to be vague, grey

and distract like elderly actresses forgetting their lines and bursting into tears if bullied. It is difficult for the layman to tell a feather-headed sheep from an shrewd, deep thinking sheep but a dog knows the difference.

Sid came smiling through to win the heat. The suspense of it all kept me on the edge of my bed. Score: no snores.

Two new comedy series on BBC 2: the return of *Shooting Stars With Reeves And Mortimer* and *All Stand For Julian Clary*, who has moved sideways from Channel 4.

Shooting Stars is surreal, anarchic and extremely rowdy. The camera seems to be having a fit. According to the second law of thermodynamics everything in time is reduced to chaos and, boy, has the second law got it right or what? Snore factor one. Perfect repose difficult because of the racket.

Julian Clary, an odd amalgam of Dame Hilda Bracket and Princess Diana, mediated between mildly warring factions. "A charming — if modest — terrace," as he put it, had fallen out over hanging baskets. A close harmony group had broken up in discord. He called it "a load of camp old nonsense from the BBC." I call that harsh. One snore.

English Country Garden (BBC 2), a wander through posh plots, is more dreamy than sheepy.

Rosemary Verrey must be 78 and comes from a different world. The language, the accent are a little different too. She said "Gardening is so — a word that my mother-in-law used to use — lenitive. I don't think it's in an English dictionary but it means soothing." She says "Oh gosh!" and "Amazing!" and "Or!" and "Orfen." The fingers pushing seeds into peat and perlite wear diamond rings.

In this world there is usually a temple at the end of the vista and a head gardener in the background ("Fergus has got tremendous energy").

She and Christopher Lloyd have had world enough and time to create great gardens. As they wandered through his garden at Great Dixter, their grey heads well below the level of the blazing flowers, they talked about September ("autumn has such a beautiful light, so obliging, so kind..."). You thought serene old age and, then, the dying of the light.

Michael Billington sees new life — and new meaning — breathed into Edward Albee's classic **Who's afraid of politics?**

The revelation

THE title is a godsend: *Who's Afraid Of Virginia Woolf?* But what is Edward Albee's play really about? Marriage? Language? Truth and illusion? All those things. But watching Howard Davies's exhilarating revival at the Almeida I realised that Albee's intimate epic is a highly political play about America. Initially labelled an Absurdist, Albee is really a committed social commentator.

Like all good plays, *Virginia Woolf* operates on any number of levels. At its most basic it is a black Strindbergian comedy — not unlike *The Dance Of Death* — about a couple who exist in a permanent state of love-hate. George and Martha, a New England professor and his older wife, bitch, booze, stay each other alive and role-play for their unfortunate guests: a young biologist and his up-chucking wife. Expert at probing each other's weaknesses, George and Martha exist in a state of chronic dependence: their marriage is sustained not just by the idea of a fantasy son but by a paralyzing fear of solitude and death.

But Albee's play is political metaphor as much as studied domestic realism. As Christopher Bigsby shrewdly notes in the programme, the very names of George and Martha evoke the Washington, the college itself is situated in New Canage and George, while his wife is playing adulterous games in the kitchen, curls up with Spengler's *The Decline Of The West*. Even the choice of professions is highly significant. Unable to face reality, George, as a historian, seeks comforting patterns in the past while Nick, as a biologist, is credited with a plan for chromosome-alteration that will produce perfect specimens in the future. Not to exclude religion, Albee reminds us that Nick's father-in-law was a travelling preacher who reconciled God and Mammon.

You can't accuse Albee of lack of ambition: he is writing about the decline of western civilisation. If anything I find his views too narrowly determinist. George, using history as form of escape, clearly represents the failure of humanism while Nick is meant to embody a totalitarian future that destroys diversity. But, even if the sense of doom is oppressive, one should remember that Albee wrote the play in the early 1960s when America was slowly emerging from the narcoleptic Eisenhower years and when peace was seen to depend on the balance of terror. Maybe the fact that George and Martha finally acknowledge the need to swap illusion for reality is even a symbol of



Drink it in... Diana Rigg produces a stunning performance as Martha

the early hopes of the Kennedy era. I am not suggesting that people are drawn to *Who's Afraid Of Virginia Woolf?* by its politics: simply that the play is much more than a marathon bickerfest and that Albee is an impassioned social critic. Two years ago he told me that he liked plays to be "useful, not merely decorative" and that he feared that America was in danger of becoming "a non-participatory semi-democracy". This was clearly a man deeply concerned by the state of the Union.

In Howard Davies he has also found an ideally sympathetic interpreter who understands that Albee's play is both domestic and cosmic. John Napier's set is a cluttered campus living-room that, like the play itself, opens up to wider territory. And the actors visibly grasp that the play offers a battle of ideas as well as egos.

David Suchet's marvellous George is both a ruthless games-player and a man who hides his sense of disappointment behind a sardonic exterior: watching him run intellectual rings round the hapless Nick, it struck me that George was the ancestor of all those Simon Gray academics who conceal their hurts behind a relentless one-upmanship. What the lusty Diana Rigg brings to the party as Martha is also much more than the conventional blowsy drunk she presents us with: a highly intelligent woman conscious of her power as the college president's daughter, yet who at the same time is haunted by self-doubt. The most moving moment in Rigg's stunning performance is her admission that George has made "the hideous, the hurting, the insulting mistake of loving me and must be punished for it".

Lloyd Owen and Clara Holman as Nick and Honey also prove that their characters are much more than punchbags for the older heavyweights. It is very much a team show in which all four characters seem to embody variant aspects of Albee's vision of the collapsed American Dream.

Some say it's too long. But, as in *Long Day's Journey Into Night*, the epic breadth seems to me the point. We become part of the ritual in which the characters slug it out until a kind of exhaustion sets in. Albee had O'Neill in mind but I am not sure that his is not the greater play. In *Long Day's Journey* O'Neill dramatises his own family's tribulations; Albee's achievement is that he puts on stage a much larger slice of his scarred and fatigued Republic. And to those who complain, like Sam Goldwyn, that messages are for Western Union, one can only retort that Albee himself once worked for them.

At the Almeida, London (0171-359 4404).



Berger: a joke!

THE QUESTION of the week is, does John Berger have a sense of humour? Berger isn't synonymous with clowning — his talents lie more at the expository end of the spectrum, sometimes as just this side of precious. But Will It Be A Likeness? his Radio 3 feature, seemed to be heading towards new territory.

Viz the opening sentence: "Last week I talked about the dog." Consult Radio Times: last week Berger talked about nothing. "A number of listeners have sent me faxes." You don't fax John Berger — you send him a quilled letter. "The dog is the only animal with a historical sense of time, but he can never be a historical agent." Whoa, John Berger is making a joke. It's hard to tell, of course, because Berger serious makes the kind of aphoristic pronouncement that Berger prankster here makes, but soon it sounds as if he's gaying his own sententiousness. He suggests that painting works better on radio than television because every painting has its own kind of silence, butterflies too have their own particular silences, etc. Watch out: Armando Iannucci, there's a wit about.

But it couldn't last. Berger overplayed the fax joke — "Excuse me, a fax" (sound of fax). And for jokes you need a light touch. Here Berger adopted a kind of stereo comic dialectic, he became his own devil's advocate, chiding himself for "empty leftist rhetoric" and being "a nostalgic old man". Of course the comic and the serious can tango together

revealingly, but coming from this artful polemicist, it seemed unconvincing.

Then again I may have got it all wrong — Berger might have been (playfully) serious throughout. The piece was billed as his debut as a performance artist, and he made certain near-winkling attempts at radio magic realism. Goya's dog was a running gag — which only half came off. Berger is a Marxist with compelling things to say about culture, and an uncompromisingly poetic, elliptical style of delivery that can madden but also enthral and illuminate. This time, talking about societies where everything is commodified, he cast the odd spot of light, but also resorted to techniques used by those who have to sell their ideas. Can we have our old Berger back please, or the new one but without the contrived interruptions?

Spalding Gray is much more comfortable with the comic "I", but then he's an American. The monologist has lost at least one layer of angst since he was last on Radio 3: now more famous and father of a boy called Forest (rnp), his new series *Further Shades Of Gray* wasn't as mirthful as the previous one. (If the fellow gets too centred, he will have gained a life and lost an act.) But Gray still talks as others think, and his accounts of interviewing the Dalai Lama and the satisfying terrors of skiing remain cherishable.

Inadvertently, Bob Hescott's play *Lost* (Radio 4) raises the question not of whether there can be poetry after Auschwitz, but whether there should be plays about it. And Kindertransport notwithstanding, I think the answer is no. Hescott's attempt to portray a group of Czech Jewish children recalling their path to Auschwitz was, I've no doubt, well-intentioned. But confined within the narrative conventions of the afternoon radio play, and with school dram soc style of child acting, it ended up sounding like the adventures of the Famous Five — adding nothing to our understanding of the Holocaust, but diminishing plenty. Reading Martin Gilbert's fine forthcoming book about child Holocaust survivors, *The Boys*, you see the unmatched power and integrity of testimony.

Judith Mackrell laughs along with *The Nutcracker Sweeties*, dressed by Jasper Conran **Dropping acid sugar plums**

The surprise

UNEXPECTED competition to London Fashion Week turned up on Thursday night when Jasper Conran unveiled his fabulous neo-glam-ourous collection in Birmingham. It was a scintillating, purring, sexy show of tight-waisted, tea frocks in acid bright fruit prints, the skirts cut high on the thigh and flaring in a razzle of pleats and petticoats. There were mini bustles in tarty stars and stripes, an evening gown that was a supple slither of cerise and witty black matador jackets teamed with a riot of neon coloured shirts.

It was, in fact, David Bintley's new ballet *The Nutcracker Sweeties*, for which Conran has produced his best dance designs yet. And the inspiration and the joy of the piece come from the baller's score in which Duke Ellington wreaks gloriously raunchy havoc on the familiar melodies of Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker Suite*. The Dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy degenerates into a saxophone ringer's number, the Waltz Of The Flowers has gone Latin while the Dance Of The Mirlitons sounds as if it's been soured in whisky and has a hundred-day smoking habit.

Roll over Tchaikovsky and also roll over Ivanov, because the original 19th-century ballet also gets the

treatment. Its cutesy Chinese dance turns into a solo for Madame Sin (Agnes Coker) with six-inch green nails and ice pick point work. Monica Zamora's Sugar Plum is a forties' siren sashaying on long, long legs and heaving the audience with her vermilion pout. Most comically the Waltz Of The Flowers is a Come Dancing finale from hell, in which beautiful cha-cha queen Chena Williams keeps trying to upstage the beleaguered Joseph Cippola.

All of this is set against the tilting skyscrapers and neon signs of Peter J Davidson's sets and Peter Mumford's sumptuous lighting. And with the score performed live by the excellent Echoes of Ellington band, it's a combination hard to resist. In cold fact there are passages where Bintley indulges in several high kicks too many and where you wish he'd been less obvious in his lindy tap and baton-twirling borrowings. A really fresh take on the material could have made this ballet a classic. But Bintley knows well how to keep a dance moving and when the jokes and surprises do come they are hilariously entertaining.

Unlike James Kudelka's new version of *Le Baiser De La Fee*, which was also premiering on Thursday this is a ballet that even Balanchine confessed he had trouble getting right. Although it tells a story (based on Andersen's *The Ice Maiden*) Stravinsky's music

and libretto don't attempt to be a yarn but slowly unfold through a series of tableaux and visions.

Unfortunately a yarn is what Kudelka tries vainly to create and he plods through the story with a literalness that both exacerbates its slowness and reduces its

metaphors to narrative muddles. Kudelka is a fluent, sometimes inventive choreographer and he spins passages of beguiling steps. But he frequently repeats himself inexcusably and he rarely pushes his choreography to either paint his characters or to conjure the

work's eerie extremes of terror and bliss. Perhaps most disappointingly he has his dancers run through their most predictable routines — Michael O'Hare performs yet another fresh-faced hero. Zamora does her smouldering gypsy number. Leticia Muller is the obvious noble wife. Kudelka (who's been appointed director of the National Ballet of Canada) is the first guest choreographer to work with BBR since Bintley took over. The point of an outsider, though, is surely to give us a fresh slant on a company, not to repeat what we already know.

DILLIE KEANE

ACCOMMODATING EVA

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Golf

Payne keeps his head above water

David Davies sees an Englishman share the lead ahead of a strong field in Dublin

AT THE END of April this year Jim Payne was close to despair. He had little money and less confidence and hardly any time left to acquire both. Because he had undergone major back surgery he was playing the European Tour on a special exemption which ran out in two tournaments' time and he knew that something had to be done.

So he went and won the Italian Open. "That changed things," said Payne yesterday. "That was huge." Always a talented golfer, the 26-year-old Payne, who had been out of the game for eight months, suddenly realised all over again that he could play and he now occupies a comfortable 25th place in the Volvo rankings, having won \$168,000 so far this year.

The 27-year-old Kiwi looked a towering talent last year as he finished third in the Open Championship, second in the Volvo PGA and the British Masters and won most \$445,000. But this year that form has entirely disappeared, he lies 144th in the Volvo rankings and has won \$21,000. Worse, if he cannot win some \$20,000 in his next two events, he will not have a card to play professional golf anywhere in the world and will have to go back to the qualifying school.

Cycling

Zülle gets just dessert

ALEX ZÜLLE was troubled neither by rivals nor rice pudding yesterday and he can expect to win the Tour of Spain tomorrow for the first time.

Zülle rode free of pressure from Louis Laurent Dufaux and of the food poisoning that plagued his O.N.C.E. team-mates to finish the 20th stage to Palazollos del Eresma with a comfortable grip on the yellow jersey. He maintained a lead of more than four minutes over Dufaux, with Roberto Pistore a further three minutes back.

Bugno diplomatically dedicated his win to Miguel Indurain and "the Spanish fans". Meanwhile Indurain, resting after retiring from the race last week, has announced that he will not compete in the world championships this autumn. No reason was given.

Rugby League

Aboriginals' tour promises a treat

ENGLISH crowds are in for a treat when the Australian Aboriginals play seven games here over the next three weeks. A number of outstanding Aboriginals are playing their first grade Australian rugby league - Cliff Lyons, Ricky Walford and Steve Renouf among them - and many more are clearly stars of the future.

Almost half of the 25-man squad are attached to leading Australian professional clubs but this is a strictly amateur tour and every member of the party had to find £1,500 to get himself on the plane.

Snooker

Parrott's new cue wrecks betting coup

JOHN PARROTT'S 6-3 win over Ken Doherty in the Royal Scottish Masters quarter-finals here yesterday frustrated what would have been a notable and entirely legitimate betting coup.

On Tuesday 8th October, BT introduce a telephone table everyone will appreciate. THEY THINK IT'S ALL OVER...



Waiting in the wings... Tony Underwood rehearses for today's TV drama

Rugby Union

Underwood in battle trim for star wars

Ian Malin on a resounding clash of wallets at Richmond

IT IS the game that has been billed as a battle between 16 internationals and two millionaires. Richmond Athletic Ground, for much of this century such an unchanging world that it could be the spiritual home of Old Fardom, will witness this afternoon the most intriguing fixture of English rugby's troubled new dawn.

Underwood and brother Rory laughed it off all the way to the bank by appearing with Lomu and their mother Annie in a Pizza Hut advertisement. The money allowed Tony to give up his stockbroker job and recover from his knee injury before returning home to the North-East.

Carling granted his fly-half wish against England No. 10

WILL CARLING will play his first competitive game at fly-half for the leaders Harlequins in today's Courage League match against Northampton at The Stoop.

John Mitchell, the Walsley No. 8 who was appointed Sale director of rugby this week, makes his league debut for the Cheshire club at home to Bristol.

Injured Charles Muiraine for their difficult trip to Leicester, who are without Dean Richards. The England No. 8 twisted his knee on Sunday against Wasps.

Gibbs back in Wales squad

SCOTT GIBBS is set to resume his career with Wales 2 1/2 years after joining St Helens. The Swansea centre has been named in a squad of 21 for Wales's international against Italy in Rome next Saturday and is almost certain to start the game.

Gibbs returned from St Helens to Swansea in the summer and, even though he has played only six matches this season, the Wales coach Kevin Bowring believes the 25-year-old is ready to add to his 30 caps.

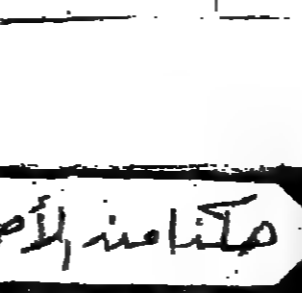
Sport in brief

Cricket: Sussex's coach Desmond Haynes has told the batsman Martin Spight and the dispirited England leg-spinner Ian Salisbury to make up their minds soon about their new contract offers.

Boxing: Frank Warren has postponed next Tuesday's promotion in Derby because Burton's Neville Brown has a back injury and cannot challenge Russia's Alexander Zaitsev for the European middleweight title.

Ice Hockey: Manchester Storm are hoping for late clearance for their Canadian forward Mike Morin, writes Vic Bathelider. Tomorrow night they face Ayr in the first leg of their B&H Cup quarter-final.

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Underwood in little trim star wars

Racing

French in a Festival mood for the clash of six Group One winners at Ascot. Chris Hawkins sums up

Ashkalani's late run can seal mile title

EUROPE'S top miler will be decided today when six Group One winners, including three Guineas winners, clash in the Queen Elizabeth II Stakes at the Ascot Festival. Mark Of Esteem, winner of the 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket, is likely to start favourite and will have put another £190,000 in the pocket of Sheikh Mohammed, pushing Saeed bin Suroor back to the top of the trainers' table. Henry Cecil has had a running battle all season with Saeed and defends his lead with Bossa Sham, not seen on a racecourse since winning the 1,000 Guineas in May. It will be a remarkable training feat if Cecil can bring back this filly, after persistent foot problems which have such a glittering array of talent, but nothing this suave genius does should surprise. After 27 years in the game he has all the 'been there, done that' T-shirts, not that he would be seen dead in such common garb. No doubt he will have looked out one of his more flowery silk ties for this special occasion, but a top-class dress sense should not disguise a fierce will to win. Bossa Sham showed a similar sort of will when winning the Guineas in adverse circumstances - due to her foot injury she had only been 50-50 to run the day before - but the form book does not suggest that was a classic Classic. Unfortunately, we can only guess at her real merit and that there are several here with more proven credentials. There were similar doubts concerning Mark Of Esteem when he flopped in the St James's Palace Stakes following his hard-fought Guineas win, but he redeemed his reputation with a scintillating performance in the Celebration Mile at Goodwood. He is only little, but is all length and has a great burst of acceleration - the hall-mark of a top class racehorse. In the Guineas he beat the much bigger Bijou d'Inde by a short-head and a head although, apparently not himself, was way behind that rival in the St James's Palace. In the best race of the Royal meeting Bijou d'Inde rallied to win by a head from the French colt Ashkalani, whose connections believe he should be a top class racehorse. Ashkalani, the French 3,000 winner, is another with a brilliant turn of speed and the argument is that he was asked to use it too soon by Mick Kinane, who was unfamiliar with him. Gerald Mossie is back in the saddle today and will not doubt be trying to hang on to Ashkalani until the last possible moment. The form of this colt is solid. He has three times beaten the Irish Guineas winner Spinning World, while he had the Coronation Stakes winner Snake The Yoke nearer two lengths behind him in the Prix du Moulin. The field is made up by the older horses Charnwood Forest (another runner for Saeed bin Suroor), First Island and Soviet Line.

First Island would appear the pick of them on his Sussex Stakes victory when he cut down Charnwood Forest with disdain, and there was certainly no disgrace in his three lengths defeat by the incredible Halling in the York International over a mile and a quarter. As Bijou d'Inde was a length and a half away third then, a case can be made for First Island beating the three-year-olds today, but Bijou d'Inde as good over ten furlongs as he is over a mile? Mark Johnston, his trainer, thinks not and no doubt Bijou d'Inde, who loves to front-run, will be out to stretch the opposition this afternoon. With so many speed horses, a fast and furious final furlong looks certain and Ashkalani (3.20), perhaps the best to challenge, could have the decisive turn of foot. There is a feast of good racing and the card begins with the Cumberland Lodge Stakes, Wall Street has the form but, being by Mr Prospector, is not certain to stay a mile and a half so Royal Court (2.00) is my selection. He beat the St Leger winner Shantou at Haydock in July. No doubt there will be a turn-up or two but, placing faith in the form book, Lucayan Prince (3.35) looks worth the map in the Racaal Diadem Stakes on the strength of his second to Anabaa in the July Cup. That was a cracking effort and he should be forgiven a disappointing run when poorly drawn in the Haydock Stakes Trophy. Racing up the stands today, he should have an advantage. High Summer (3.55) is a snip on official ratings in the Rosemary Handicap, while the improving Fatefully (4.30) looks a good bet in the Rosemary Handicap. The Festival continues tomorrow, featuring the Ascot Filly Mile in which the sensational Sandown debutant Sleepytyme will be taken on by the unbeaten Red Camella and Nashwan's half-sister Sarayir.



Rematch... Ashkalani (noseband) is pipped by Bijou d'Inde at Royal Ascot. They clash again in today's Queen Elizabeth II Stakes over the same course and distance. PHOT: MARTIN LYNCH

Carson out of intensive care

WILLIE CARSON has been moved from intensive care to hospital after suffering a serious injury at Newbury. A spokesman for the North Hampshire Hospital in Basingstoke said yesterday: 'Mr Carson is satisfactory. He has now been transferred to one of the hospital's surgical wards where he remains under the care of consultant surgeon Myrddin Rees'. Carson, 53, was admitted to hospital after being kicked in the stomach by Meshbah in the paddock at Newbury last Friday and is being treated for severe liver injuries.

Haydock

Table of racing results for Haydock, including race numbers, names, and odds.

Redcar

Table of racing results for Redcar, including race numbers, names, and odds.

Worcester (N.H.)

Table of racing results for Worcester (N.H.), including race numbers, names, and odds.

SPORTS NEWS 21

Ascot with TV form

Table with columns for race numbers, names, and TV form details.

BBC-1

Table of racing results for BBC-1, including race numbers, names, and odds.

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Blundered today for the first time: HAYDOCK: 2.05 Plesureland, REDCAR: 2.55 Hi Rock; 4.25 Kosevo; 4.55 William's Well; 5.25 Flashy's Son.

RACELINE advertisement with phone number 0930 168+ and a list of racing results.

Soccer

Wright in trouble for his Mail shot

Martha Thorpe

IAN WRIGHT was back in trouble with the Football Association yesterday after making personal and derogatory remarks about David Platt. And the Daily Mail stood accused of exacerbating the Sheffield Wednesday manager's embarrassment by publishing Wright's comments in the first place when other newspapers refused.

Cup tie on Wednesday. He was responding to Platt's protest to the FA over two alleged incidents involving Wright in last week's Premiership game at Highbury, which the Gunners won 4-1. Platt called for an inquiry after Wright was seen pulling the dreadlocks of Wednesday's Dutchman Regi Blinker, and allegedly stamping on the Yugoslav defender Dejan Stankovic.

publish everything was taken at a senior editorial level. The Wright comments which were printed in other papers included: "He [David Platt] can do what he likes. He can report me to the FA, but I just ask why he is doing it. But if I do have to appear at the FA, I'll have my say about David Platt." He then added the insult: "For him to say I pulled Regi Blinker's hair out of malice is nonsense. It was just a joke. I have spoken to Regi since and he hasn't a problem. There is no way I deliberately stamped on Stankovic as I might have caught him as I came down after jumping for the ball, but that's all."

Newcastle and Liverpool draw European comfort

David Lacey

THE second-round draws handed to Newcastle United and Liverpool in the UEFA and Cup Winners' Cups should have reduced the threat of English interests in Europe being wiped out by Christmas. In Scotland, however, Aberdeen have been less fortunate.

With Celtic bundled out of the UEFA Cup by Hamburg and Rangers staggering from one disaster to another in the Champions League, there is not much left in Europe for Scotland to consider and there may soon be even less. Aberdeen, having beaten Barry, face Broady, the Danish conquerors of Liverpool in last season's UEFA Cup, and may struggle. Broady routed another Swiss side, Aarau, 7-0 on aggregate in the first round.

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Forest open to takeover

NOTTINGHAM Forest are being offered a multi-million pound takeover with the club board of directors having already met to discuss approaches by potential buyers.

eds and Liverpool's of this year. We have been alongside them for many years and all I am interested in is us continuing to do that at the very highest level.

Royle was furious at seeing his striker Darren Ferguson sent off in the final minutes. Coventry's Ron Atkinson, along with his assistant Gordon Strachan, are also on a discipline charge after incidents during the match against Chelsea last month, when Paul Danson was the referee.

TEAM SHEET

Arsenal v Sunderland
Pal Rice, in charge for the last time before leaving manager post at Highbury, rates Lee Dean back at right-back. Dennis Gough has a call out, but Tony Adams may start his first league game since joining Sunderland, still without Neil O'Neil, with Lee Hooper his first Premiership start.

Chelsea v Nottingham Forest
Chelsea's captain Dennis Wise, midfielder Andy Gray and left-back Steve Clarke must all take late fitness tests. Nottingham Forest are without Neil O'Neil, but Steve Clarke, as Forest's new striker, is expected to start. Graham Fenlon is doubtful with a shoulder injury.

Derby v Wimbledon
Derby can't recall wing-back Chris Powell and the Croatian Alpas Asanovic and Igor Simic. Steve Ashley Ward starts his first Premiership match. Vinod Jones returns to Wimbledon after suspension.

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Left of centre... Matteo has impressed England's management all season

The red maturing of Dominic Matteo

Michael Walker on Liverpool's defender long ago targeted to fill Hoddle's boots

FEW people would have wagered serious amounts of pre-season pounds on the chances of David Beckham playing for England by September. Fewer would have risked a bet on Dominic Matteo performing the same feat a month later.

He has, however, appeared on the left side of midfield and at left-back for England Youth and the Under-21s, but at Liverpool it is as a central defender that Matteo has looked most comfortable.

Starting out of position in some of his early games, Matteo was uncertain and ill-trusted. But his emergence has taken more than three seasons since his Liverpool debut under Graeme Souness. Part of the Robbie Fowler/Steve McManis management generation, Matteo has taken the longest to mature said Steve Heighway, the head of youth development at Liverpool.

Results table with columns for Soccer, Golf, Baseball, Basketball, Cycling, Tennis. Soccer results include Arsenal v Sunderland, Chelsea v Nottingham Forest, Derby v Wimbledon, Everton v Sheffield Wednesday, Leicester v Leeds.

There's no substitute for 12 grand

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

AN INSIGHT into the life of a pro footballer. Rangers's players get £12,500 for each Champions League game. Paul Gascoigne was on the bench in one of last season's ties.

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

ALAN SHEARER is already a household name. Soon his cousin could be too - and not just because he is called Hoover. Louis Hoover is a Sinatra-style jazz singer, real name Steve Sparling, who plays Ronnie Scott's tomorrow evening, and his cousin Alan plans to be there. In fact, Hoover's career is picking up nicely.

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

OPTIMISM is alive at Maine Road. With City 5-1 down on aggregate by half-time of Tuesday's home Coca-Cola Cup second-round tie against Lincoln, the Tannoy announcer added: "This, of course, dependent on tonight's result."

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

GARY NEWBON'S Talk Radio show last Saturday was discussing Arsenal's upcoming tie with Borussia Mönchengladbach and that weekend's Borussia Dortmund 1-2 draw for Arsenal. "Bad news for Arsenal," said Newbon. "But a terrific result for Mönchengladbach in the Borussia derby."

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

THE Sunderland defender Martin Scott scored the only goal in Tuesday's win over Watford. He always bets on himself to score the first goal, but because of professional ethics his father puts it on. Last week dad was on holiday. And the odds were 25-1.

Soccer Diary

Martin Thorpe

DRUG-FREE Paul Emerson is recalled by England, and what is his Arsenal team-mate Scott Marx's real name? The flight back from Cologne? Irvine Welsh's Ecstasy.

Scottish review

Burns turns down the flame for the first Old Firm game

THE Celtic manager Tommy Burns is well aware of the passions aroused by this afternoon's first Old Firm confrontation of the season and is playing them down. "I'd rather [Smith and I] chose to speak about this match in a certain way we could turn it into a minor war," he said. "Instead we treat it simply as a game both of us want to win."

Scottish review

Burns turns down the flame for the first Old Firm game

early games against Rangers will be a test of nerves that would determine the outcome of the league. But they did. "Now it's changed and that possibility is obvious. It doesn't mean that whoever wins tomorrow will take the title, because we play each other four times and there are opportunities to retrieve things. But the winners would clearly take a big psychological advantage."

Performance of the week: David Beckham (Manchester United), who was outstanding against Rapid Vienna in the Champions League on Wednesday.

Handwritten signature: Jolly moko

THE BT GLOBAL CHALLENGE

Facing oceans of adventure a world away from home

Simon Montague, who will be writing regularly for the Guardian throughout the race, describes the hardships facing the 14-man crews of the 14 yachts that set off tomorrow on their 30,000-mile voyage

LAY in the cockpit, gasping for breath. It was two o'clock in the morning and we were driving into big waves in a gale. The sea was my worst enemy. Seasickness had me in its grip and in two days all I had held down was a banana and a glass of water. We had just completed yet another sail change and, crawling back from a spray-rigged cockpit, I felt as if the last ounce of strength had been sapped from me.

That taste of ocean racing came earlier this summer as the fleet of BT Global Challenge yachts was put through a five-day qualifying event from Southampton around Ireland's notorious Fastnet Rock and back again. The compensation was that the yacht I was on, Nuclear Electric, won the race. Somehow my amount of agony seems worthwhile to be first back to the quayside. Nevertheless I should not like to repeat the experience as we set out on the real thing tomorrow lunch-time. Conditions may dictate otherwise. A wet and windy forecast suggests we could struggle to find our sea legs before the weather kicks them out from under us.

For everyone on board the 14 identical yachts it will be the beginning of the adventure of a lifetime: the almost unbelievable prospect of racing 30,000 miles the "wrong way" round the world against the prevailing winds and currents. The organiser is the veteran yachtsman Chay Blyth, who 25 years ago became the first person to complete the trip non-stop. For the crew volunteers this time, however, most of whom have paid nearly \$20,000 to participate, there is at least a chance to stop off and see the world.

girlfriend is now a co-signatory to my bank account. And now here in Southampton we are rushing to complete the seemingly never-ending list of last-minute tasks. We have stripped and greased the huge winches that must spin seamlessly and endlessly as we trim for speed; we have checked every inch of the huge sheets of yellow sailcloth and the sheets and halyards that will control them.

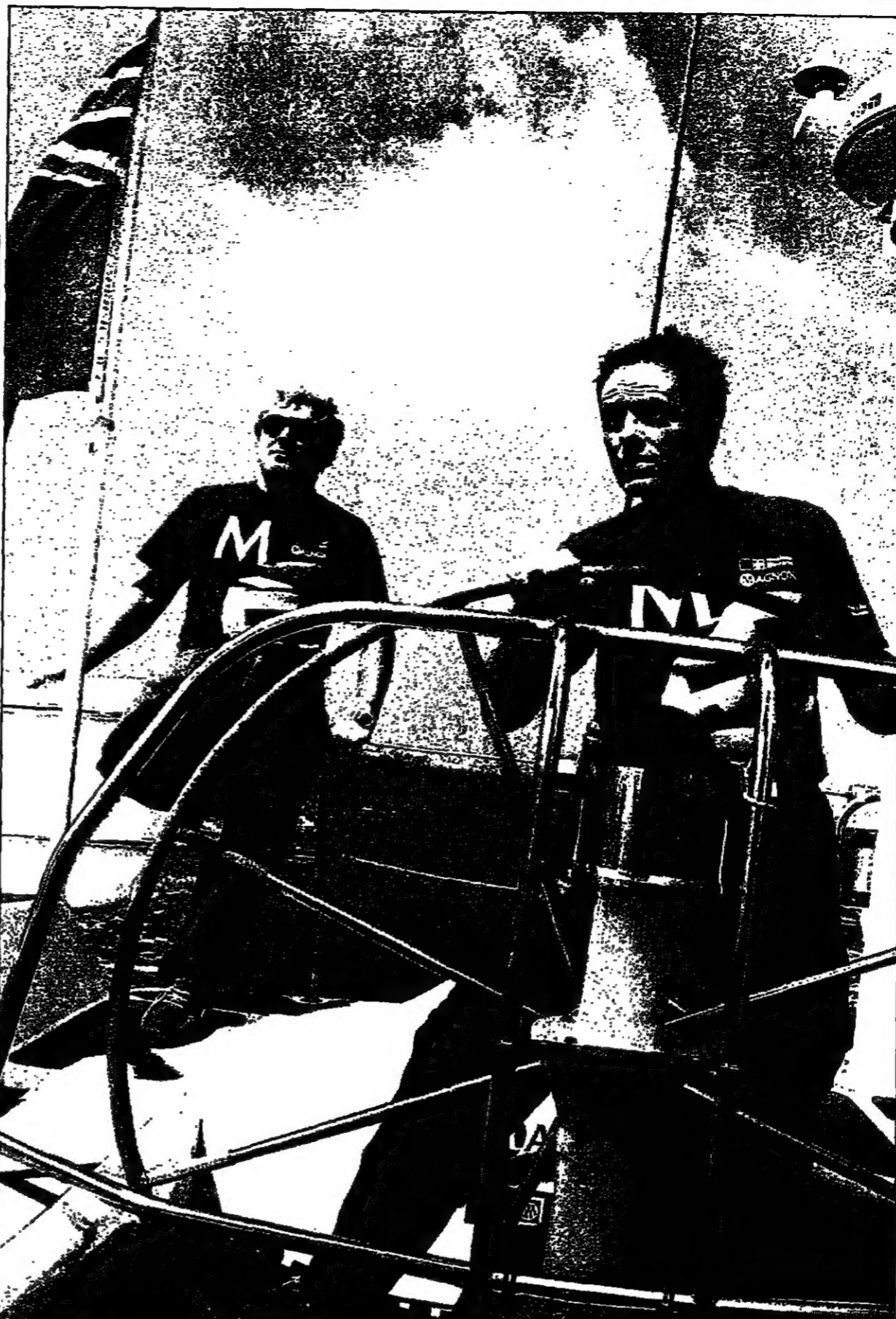
At the back of our minds is the knowledge that the more thorough our preparation the better our chance of avoiding unexpected crises and time-consuming repair at sea. We know what being fast means in terms of personal sacrifice. Every ounce added to a boat slows it, so even though Nuclear Electric weighs 40 tons, personal effects have been reduced to a minimum. Our clothes include waterproofs, one layer of thermal, boots, sleeping bag and very little else. Three or four T-shirts and pairs of underwear are regarded as enough for the trip.

Our life style will be equally regimented, split into two watches that change every four hours at night and every six hours by day; only during the two main meals, breakfast and dinner, will all 14 crew members be together. Eating well will be crucial to sustaining physical strength and morale: with no refrigerator or freezer on board, fresh food will last only a few days. In cupboards below bunks and under floorboards we have stowed the unexciting diet of dehydrated delights that will follow.

Energy-giving high-carbohydrate food like pasta, rice and re-constituted potato will become the mainstay, accompanied by soups and Bolognese sauces re-vitalised simply by adding water and heat. However, in the galley well be encouraged to make liberal use of dried herbs and spices to vary the taste and flavour.

So we are prepared for the practicalities and the physical challenge ahead. What remains unknown is how we are affected mentally and emotionally by the weeks to come. Already the next nine months promise as much of a roller-coaster ride as the seas we shall have to cross.

Among my crew-mates Simon Wardle is saying good-bye until next July to his 18-month-old daughter Alice and his wife Adele, whom he married a fortnight ago. Peter Calvin's fiancée Elaine is due to give birth to their first child this weekend; whether he will see the new baby is doubtful. Our skipper Richard is leaving his new fiancée, a fellow sailor, to get married. To impose such separation on family and friends may seem unbearably harsh, even selfish, but this race touches everyone and demands commitment from all. It will be just as much a challenge for those who stay at home.



Big wheel... Simon Montague, volunteer would-be circumnavigator, takes the helm of the 40-ton BT Challenge entry Nuclear Electric under the watchful eye of his skipper Richard Tudor

'They're all coming back'

Chay Blyth has put emphasis on safety, reports Bob Fisher

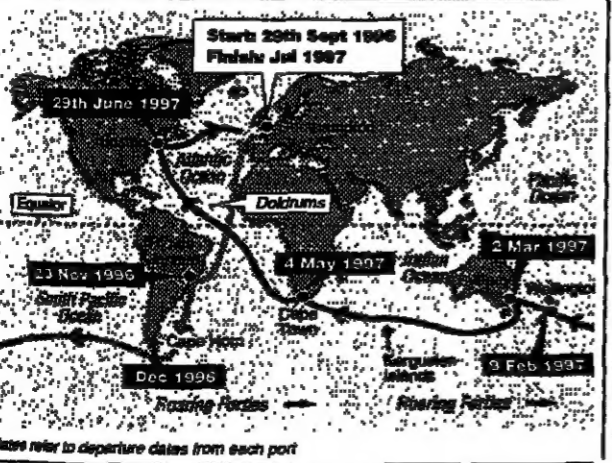
SAFETY has been the keynote in the planning of the BT Global Challenge. A total of 196 sailors set out on this adventure tomorrow and Chay Blyth says "they're all coming back". No one knows better than Blyth the agony of losing a man overboard. This is a race that is a test of seamanship, not a measurement of the thickness of a sponsor's wallet.

The steel-hulled boats are "bomb-proof". Sometimes there may be a fraction of an inch of salt too much, but the hulls can cope with the incessant pounding. David Thomas, who designed them, says an excess of stability has to be avoided. "If a boat heels readily, there will be less damage to gear. Four years ago they were driven to windward in 60 knots of wind, thumping their way through the waves of the Southern Ocean at 8 1/2 knots."

The whole boat has been designed around one piece of equipment - the winches. These are adequately powerful for the job but not like those in grand-prix racing yachts, so powerful that the job can be done in double-quick time. Andrew Roberts, the project manager for the race, said: "Too much power in the wrong hands is dangerous."

Safety equipment is of the highest standard with three life-rafts on each yacht. Personal life-jacket technology has cost more than \$10,000 and each yacht has emergency positioning satellite radio beacons (EPIRB) which, when activated, will identify the vessel and position it to within two miles, the signal being relayed by satellite to land-based rescue co-ordination centres around the world. Blyth will no doubt count them out on Sunday and be there to count them in at all the stop-over ports and when they return to Southampton after the world's toughest yacht race next July.

Nine months of toil



Fourteen into 67 equals a squeeze

BUILT specifically for around-the-world match racing, the 67 Challenge yachts are steel-hulled and designed to be strong, safe and easily handled by 14-member crews of "amateurs", writes Simon Montague.

Four of the boats are new while the rest have been refitted to an identical standard, having competed in the British Steel Challenge three years ago. With enough stores, food, fresh water, diesel oil and spares for up to seven weeks at sea, the yachts will weigh about 40 tons at the start, finishing about four tons lighter and nearly 10cm higher in the water.

A central companion-way leads forward to two three-person and two two-person cabins with canvas bunks that are effectively a crew member's only personal space. Heading aft is the communal living area, the galley, with four-ring gas hob, small oven and table with cushioned bench seating. Beyond that are the two remaining twin cabins.

Each yacht carries 3.5 sails: four spinnakers, two staysails, four headsails, a trysail and a mainsail, all stored forward just behind the collision bulkhead. Stored throughout the yacht are enough food supplies for more than 2,000 individual meals on the longest legs of the race.

There will be constant communications with home, including radio telephone, Telex and E-mail. Navigation equipment includes two global-positioning satellite systems, a notebook PC to receive mail by way of HF radio, a Raytheon radar system and, if all else fails, a sextant.

Weekend fixtures

Table listing various football fixtures for the weekend, including First Division, FA Cup, and other leagues.

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE

Table listing fixtures for the Nationwide League, including teams like Barnsley, Gillingham, and others.

BELLS SCOTCH LEAGUE

Table listing fixtures for the Bells Scotch League, including teams like Dundee, Aberdeen, and others.

INTERNATIONAL CHAMPIONSHIPS

Table listing international football fixtures, including matches between England, Scotland, and others.

BASEBALL

Table listing baseball fixtures, including teams like Manchester, Liverpool, and others.

HOCKEY

Table listing hockey fixtures, including teams like Hull, Belfast, and others.

League begins in anger over absent stars

England in Europe; whether they want successful teams to attract interest and sponsorship. Cannock could be even better than last year but now we shall have to hope that we have sufficient depth to cope for four matches."

Pat Rowley

HALF the 12 clubs that make up the re-formed Premier Division of the National League must each play their first four games without a number of top players because the Hockey Association does not allow post-competition transfers.

Derek Malcolm reviews the latest film releases

Clubs releasing players for such an event would have been granted post-competition transfers in any other country but the FA precludes this even when there are England commitments. It is a highly unpopular rule.



Back where he belongs Tony Underwood returns to the fray 20



Round the world in 280 days Facing up to the Global Challenge 23

The Guardian Sport



New man about town... Damon Hill looking relaxed in London after signing a one-year contract with TWR Arrows, whose owner Tom Walkinshaw looks on. PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

Hill falls for smart Footwork

Alan Henry on the pit-lane coup that lured Formula One's championship leader to the lowly-ranked Arrows team

DAMON Hill wrong-footed the motor racing world yesterday when he announced that he will be joining the TWR Arrows team for 1997 to drive one of their new Footwork cars running on Japanese Bridgestone tyres. The news has stunned Formula One but left Tom Walkinshaw, who owns and runs TWR, chuckling with delight that the sport's hitherto reliable grapevine failed to anticipate the biggest coup in recent years. If Hill clinches the world championship at the Japanese Grand Prix on October 13 - as he is likely to - it will mean that one of Walkinshaw's cars will carry the coveted No. 1 from the start of next year.

"I have signed for the TWR Arrows team as their No. 1 driver," said Hill. "Tom is best described as the archetypal racing man. He is a racing driver, a championship winner, and I, like many others, credit him with turning round the Benetton team in their successful 1994 and 1995 seasons. He's offered me a truly rewarding package. It's a great challenge and I'm looking forward to working with him this winter. "I've seen his operation and I'm highly impressed. Everything he touches and does is a winner. I don't think anyone is under any illusions about the task ahead. Winning in Formula One is not easy, but I'm left with no doubt about the package and facilities. I believe it will be a winning team and manufacturer."

The second Footwork - car No. 2 next year if Hill takes the title - is expected to be driven by the Brazilian Pedro Diniz, who could help clinch an additional \$10 million co-sponsorship deal from the Brazilian arm of Parmalat, the Italian dairy products company. Ever since Frank Williams announced he would be dispensing with Hill's services three weeks ago, it has been riddled with speculation as to the British driver's future. Initially, the Silverstone-based Jordan team seemed to lead the race to secure Hill's signature for 1997. Then Jackie Stewart, one of the sport's heavyweights, pitched in with a bid from his fledgling team, whose first Ford-powered car will not be ready for another 10 weeks.

There was speculation that Benetton might cancel Jean Alesi's contract to make room for Hill, or that the Ligier team, owned by Benetton's Flavio Briatore, would sign him for 1997 in a high-speed "holding pattern" prior to his promotion to Benetton in 1998. Yet all these predictions have been overturned by the hard-nosed 60-year-old Scottish entrepreneur, who rose to international prominence in the Eighties when he masterminded Jaguar's return to the sports car world-championship winners' circle. Walkinshaw bought the financially ailing Footwork team earlier in the season after he failed to purchase the Ligier team from Briatore. Walkinshaw has derived special pleasure from outmanoeuvring his fellow Scot Stewart with whom he is vying for media attention as they both build their new grand prix operations.

He will be particularly tickled by the irony that Stewart had also considered purchasing Arrows earlier this season, but instead opted for a "clean-sheet" approach to building his F1 operation. Walkinshaw snapped them up, correctly reasoning that such a move which gives him a flying start towards realising his F1 ambitions. Walkinshaw's TWR operation is now based at a state-of-the-art technical centre at Leamington, in Oxfordshire. It is believed that Hill finally decided to make what could be regarded as a highly speculative career move when he was shown the facilities. "I decided I wanted a top-flight driver to help mould our team into a championship winner in the future," said Walkinshaw. "I made contact with Damon just after Monza and expressed my interest in talking to him. He was pretty impressed with what he saw at

our Leamington plant. I wanted to have a team I could build up around a top-flight driver, one of the fastest in the world with a lot of experience in testing. There is no one better to fulfil the role we need for next year than Damon." Hill now faces racing a brand new car on tyres from Bridgestone, a company new to F1 next season, rather than the Goodyears he was previously familiar with at Williams. Hill will also face the task of helping develop the Yamaha engine which has displayed middling form at best when powering the works Tyrrells over the past three seasons. However, it is expected that TWR's own engine development department, which is under the direction of the highly respected former chief engineer at Cosworth, Geoff Goddard, will take some role in the development and maintenance of the Yamaha engines.

Wenger can make pitch for new breed



David Lacey

WHEN an incoming Arsenal manager is a Frenchman, and has to tie up loose ends in Japan before he can formally take over, then obviously the job is not quite what it was when George Allison, the plummy-voiced journalist and broadcaster, succeeded to the post on the death of Herbert Chapman. The arrival of Arsène Wenger at Highbury comes at a time when management in the Premier League is in a state of change. Losing managers will still be sacked but, this unpalatable fact apart, many of those in charge of teams now bear little resemblance to the men running things in the Sixties, Seventies or even the Eighties. Ron Atkinson, under pressure at Coventry, is the last of a sun-tanned breed. The managerial type represented by Tony Waddington and Harry Haslam, experts in the art of making do, is practically extinct although Joe Kinnear comes close at Wimbledon. This week one Premier League manager, who has experienced both ends of the financial spectrum in league football, offered the opinion that his contemporaries had a totally different attitude when it came to signing players. They no longer weighed up the pros and cons of a prospective buy, he argued. A player simply becomes available and the price is paid.

There is no time now for a latter-day Bill Nicholson to study someone for the best part of a season before deciding not to buy him. The Tottenham Double team of 1961 came together over a period of 10 years. Now, for fans, directors and critics, 10 months is too long to wait. Wenger is a technocrat with impressive foreign credentials. Arsenal have never had anyone quite like him in charge before. In the age of

the secretary-manager Chapman was an impresario with an eye for publicity. Allison, a club director, left team matters to Joe Shaw and Tom Whittaker, the trainer who eventually became manager. Billy Wright, appointed on the strength of 105 England caps, was never cut out for management and hid from the players after he had put up the team sheet. Bertie Mee, a promoted physiotherapist in the Whittaker tradition, was a good organiser who knew how to delegate. Terry Neill, Don Howe and George Graham were coaches who kept faith with the spirit and style of the Arsenal teams for whom they had played.

Is it too much to hope that Wenger will usher in a new age of reason in English football as a whole and not merely at Highbury? Eventually he will be judged on results like any other manager but he should not stand or fall, for example, on the word of Ian Wright. IF WENGER makes a go of things, then more foreign coaches will surely follow him here. Speaking another language does not necessarily make a man a potential genius as a manager but English football has missed out by not being part of the European coaching circuit. The domestic game needs to share the spread of ideas as well as offering opinions of its own. This applies not only to tactics and playing systems but the whole approach to the way football is run, from sleep and generally live. In this respect Wenger could hardly have chosen a better club with which to set an Aiguean example. Cutting out the post-match drinking would be a start. Bobby Robson, now at Barcelona, has observed that the first thing English players do when they move abroad is lose several pounds of larger lard. Football management in this country is in greater need than ever of proper qualifications and a more reasoned approach in the boardroom. With Bruce Rioch's dismissal Arsenal set the poorest of examples. Allison was a radio commentator in the days of "back to square one". Now, in the age of the TV Jumbotron, it is time English football management joined the rest of Europe on square two.



Walkinshaw the driving force behind Arrows

TOM WALKINSHAW, the owner of the TWR Arrows team, first became involved in motor racing behind the wheel of a Formula Ford Hawk in 1968, but it was not until the early Eighties that he established himself as one of the sport's most imaginative business minds, writes Alan Henry. He founded Tom Walkinshaw Racing as a specialist preparation company in 1976, and six years later persuaded Jaguar's chairman John Egan to help support his racing programme with a Jaguar XJS coupé in which Walkinshaw won the 1984 European Touring Car Championship.

Walkinshaw retired as a driver that year but TWR strengthened its partnership with Jaguar to build the series of racing coupés that won the World Sports Car Championships in 1987, 1988 and 1991. In 1991 he took control of the Benetton Formula One team's technical department and masterminded the recruitment of Michael Schumacher. He stayed with Benetton until the German driver won his first world championship in 1994. In 1995 he began a technical partnership with Ligier, and moved into Formula One in his own right earlier this year when he bought the Arrows team.



Walkinshaw... imaginative

- Quiz Answers** (see page 14)
- 1. (c) Cliff Richard, who broke a fellow actor's nose while rehearsing a fight scene in his new musical, *Heatseeker*.
 - 2. Luvvie.
 - 3. (c) Mariella Frostrup
 - 4. (b) Norma Major, launching her new book on Chequers.
 - 5. John Kennedy Jnr
 - 6. General Alexander Lebed, general would-be successor to Boris Yeltsin.
 - 7. (c) Prince William, who was involved in a crash between two Range Rovers at Balmoral.
 - 8. (b) The Economist
 - 9. (b) Endeavour
 - 10. Bob Geldof, who went to court to try to win custody of his daughters, after drugs were allegedly found at his former home.
 - 11. (c) John Travolta
 - 12. (b) Margaret Thatcher
 - 13. (a) Princess Diana, who did not wear her wedding ring on a visit to Washington.
 - 14. All three: the LibDems in Brighton, the Racing Loonies in Ashburton, the OUP in Inverness.
 - 15. (b) Iron Maiden, whose eminently hummable hits - *Run Run Run* and *Bring Your Daughter to the Slaughter* - have been omitted from the Radio 1 playlist.

- How you rate:**
- 0-4 Luvvie
 - 5-9 Sweevie
 - 10-14 Darling
 - 15 Batswell

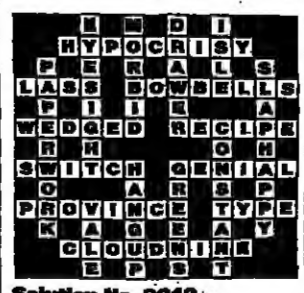
Guardian COLLINS Crossword 20,770

A copy of the Collins English Dictionary will be sent to the first five correct entries drawn. Entries to Guardian Crossword No 20,770, P.O. Box 315, Mitcham, Surrey, CR4 2AX, by first post on Friday Solution and winners in the Guardian on Monday, October 7.

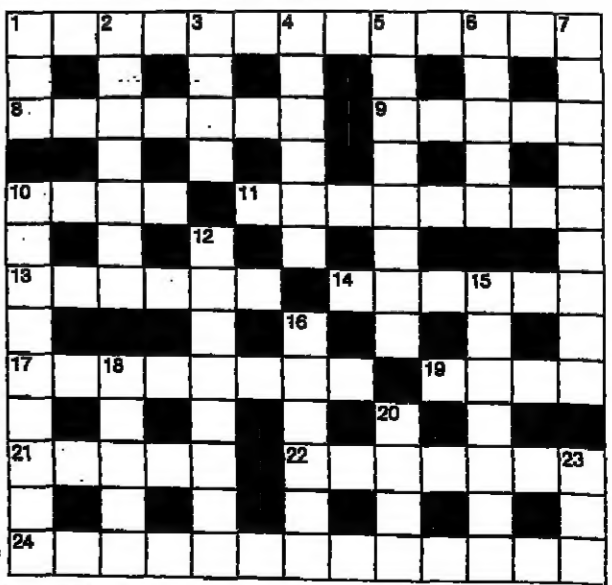
Name: _____
Address: _____



Quick Crossword No. 8243



- Across**
- 1 Bug in the system (8,5)
 - 8 Jawbone (7)
 - 9 (For the) present moment (5)
 - 10 Lose colour (4)
 - 11 Prepared for towing, felled oxen (8)
 - 13 Effect of collision etc (6)
 - 14 Insignificant thing - sweet (5)
 - 17 Place of treatment (8)
 - 19 Type of exam (4)
 - 21 Fabricate (5)
 - 22 Copious (7)
 - 24 Chiaroscuro (5,3,5)
- Down**
- 1 Projection on shaft, or river (3)
 - 2 Confused or ill-adjusted (5-2)
 - 3 Repulsive (4)
 - 4 Empower (5)
 - 5 Front-line troops (8)
 - 6 Cattle farm (5)
 - 7 Small blue flower (Veronica) (3)
 - 10 Appalling (5),
 - 12 Mishap (5)
 - 15 Term in chemistry, motor-racing, etc (7)



- 16 "12s will..." (5)
- 18 Small shoot (5)
- 20 Chief or knob (4)
- 23 As a magazine it's private (3)
- 25 Slack? Then call our solutions line on 0800 338 248. Calls cost 39p per min, cheap rate, 49p per min at other times. Service supplied by ATS

On the morning of the 27th, I received a call from the Kremlin: Yeltsin, Khasbulatov and Burbulis had occupied my office at 8.30am and held a party there, emptying a bottle of whisky... This was the triumph of plunderers. Mikhail Gorbachev

The Week page 17

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Handwritten signature: J. J. J. J.